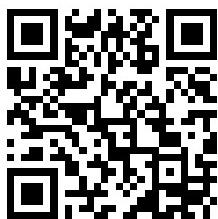

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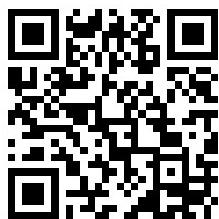
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THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY, 1927

NOTES AND NEWS

PROFESSOR E. A. SONNEN SCHIEN writes:

'I gladly respond to the invitation of the Editors that I should say a few words about the recent controversy in *The Times* and the *Morning Post* on the pronunciation of Latin. It is, of course, impossible to go into details, but the outstanding issues may be briefly stated. 1. It is more important that we should all pronounce Latin alike than that our pronunciation should be historically correct. The scheme of reform launched by the Classical Association in 1906 has undoubtedly made for uniformity, so that the Headmaster of Harrow was justified in declaring at the H.M. Conference than 95 per cent. of the boys and girls now learning Latin are taught to pronounce it in the same way. 2. The reform is based on a mass of linguistic and epigraphical evidence which proves to all those who are competent to form an opinion that the letters of the Latin alphabet really had something like the values assigned to them in the reformed scheme. As to details, such as the exact pronunciation of the diphthong *ae* in the classical period, it is not worth while to squabble. Reckless statements such as that "No one really knows how the Romans spoke," or "Half of the proposed reforms are purely conjectural," must, therefore, be discounted. 3. To return to the chaotic state of pronunciation of fifty years ago would be difficult even if it were desirable in itself. Chaotic it was, and it was vitiated by systematic violations of quantity. At my old school my Headmaster, T. H. Key, did his best to correct such barbarisms as *pāter*, *tāmen*, *nīs*, *quidem*, *rōsks*, *nōn*, by teaching his boys to say *pāte*, *tāmen*, *nīs*, *quidem*, *rōsīs* (pronounced with the second

syllable riming with *ice* or *nice*), *nōn*. And I believe that in most schools much variety of pronunciation was tolerated. The result was that the "English pronunciation of Latin" was a thing *pour rire* on the continent. I remember being asked to read aloud a passage of Horace to a class in a Berlin gymnasium in the year 1890. I disappointed the teacher and the boys by pronouncing it as I had come to think it ought to be pronounced. "But," said the teacher, "in England you say *Quae*, *qui*, *quod* instead of *Qui*, *quae*, *quod*." "Not all of us," was my reply. 4. Let us not be discouraged by the action of a few diehards; let us rather appeal to them to bear in mind that the future should not be sacrificed to the past. But let us, on our part, beware of prejudicing our case by insisting on minutiae and subtleties of pronunciation which serve no practical purpose in learning to appreciate Latin prose and verse, and which in any case would not be worth the labour involved in acquiring them. Such things are a millstone tied round the neck of Latin.'

The *Electra* of Sophocles will be acted in Greek by members of the University at the New Theatre, Cambridge, on Tuesday, February 22, and on the subsequent evenings until Saturday, February 26, at 8.30, and on the afternoons of Thursday, February 24, and Saturday, February 26, at 2.30. The tragedy will be followed by the first part of the *Peace* of Aristophanes. The scenery and costumes will be designed by Mr. Alec Penrose, whose setting of the *Oresteia* in 1921 will be remembered, and the music has been composed by Mr. D. D. Arundel, Fellow of St. John's, who led the Chorus in 1921. The music will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press, and Messrs. Bowes and Bowes of Cambridge are publishing the texts of the plays, together with verse translations, by Mr. J. T. Sheppard.

ELECTRA : A DEFENCE OF SOPHOCLES.

Save by the grace of God no man is wise.
Look therefore to the gods. If their commands
Lead thee away from righteousness, press on !
With gods for guides no journey ends in shame.

So said some character unknown in the lost *Thyestes* (Soph. Fr. 247), and a justly famous Cambridge commentary finds the contrast with Euripides ('Gods who do evil are no gods at all') significant. 'Sophocles is serenely confident that no reconciliation' of religion and morality is necessary. 'If morality seems' (*sic*) 'to conflict with the will of the gods, so much the worse for it. These lines would accurately describe the position of Orestes in the *Electra*, who has no hesitation in obeying the command' (*sic*) 'of the god, though it involves matricide.'

O sancta serenitas ! Thyestes seduced his brother's wife. Atreus retaliated with the infamous feast. Thyestes asked Delphi 'by what means' he could avenge himself, and was told there was no remedy 'except by incest.' The lines in question 'appear to be part of an answer to an objection' taken (by Thyestes?) to this instruction. The reply is 'such considerations cannot be allowed, since human wisdom is of no avail unless it is blessed by heaven.' In the sequel, either ignorantly, or because he thought the god had sanctioned it, Thyestes violated his daughter and begot Aegisthus. We are to gather, then, that Apollo advocated incest as a cure for cannibalism? And that the author of the *Oedipus* approved? *Tantum religio ?*

I venture to suggest that Sophocles, who at the height of Pericles' ascendancy contrasted the unwritten laws with man-made ordinances, deserves the benefit of any doubt there is, before we credit him with such a view. In another lost play he wrote :

I know the ways of God. Only the fool
Thinks him a plain, blunt teacher. To the wise
His oracles are riddles. (Fr. 771.)

Here the same commentary, more wisely, bids us look at Dio Chrys. 10, 23-32, for illustration. Among the fools, who think they understand the oracle, but do not, Dio mentions Laius

and Croesus and Orestes, 'accusing the god, when madness comes, and complaining that he was advised to kill his mother. Do you think Apollo bade his questioners do what was harsh or shameful? Such persons do not know how to approach the god, and therefore, when they do the deed, they blame him, not themselves. You, if you take my counsel, will be on your guard, and will be zealous first to know yourself. When your mind is right, but not till then, you shall consult the god, if you still think fit.'

The truth is, Schlegel's foolish talk about the 'heavenly serenity' of this grim play, in which he thought 'the bright divinity of Apollo who enjoined the deed shed influence over the whole,' is still allowed to prejudice our judgment. Jebb echoed Schlegel's phrases when he said the god-commanded matricide was meant to appear 'simply laudable and therefore final,' and when he forced himself to see 'the powers of light in the ascendant' from the sunshine and the bird-notes of the Prologue to the glad congratulation of the Chorus at the end. We, at school, because Jebb said it, bowed and trembled, *μάντων οὐτίνα φέροντες*. Yet Jebb had his doubts. To Athenians of the fifth century, he reflected, this alleged retelling of the Delphic story without any hint of Furies or of a matricidal strain upon the hero must have seemed, to say the least, heretical. Why did Sophocles so 'signally ignore' the traditional, religious view? How could he dare? Why did he think it worth while? Jebb frankly said, 'I do not know any adequate solution,' but suggested 'one consideration which may help.'

To the great discredit of our scholarship his tentative suggestion has been freely used, his honest doubts ignored. Perhaps, he said, this curious perversion of a moral tale was meant by Sophocles to seem Homeric? Athena in the *Odyssey* declared that Orestes had won universal praise. Sophocles wanted us to put ourselves at the Homeric standpoint.

But in the *Odyssey* there is no oracle,

and therefore no religious problem : no Electra, and therefore no tragedy of Electra : no matricide, and therefore nothing relevant to our enquiry. There is, it is true, a hint that matricide was in the old tradition. Menelaus found Orestes, 'having killed the man, making a funeral feast for his hateful mother and the cowardly Aegisthus' (*y* 309). Homer had reason for thus skating the thin ice of legend, tactfully and subtly as was his wont. His Orestes was to be a model for the wise Telemachus, and Penelope's son was not to take a matricide for his example. So the poet left it doubtful how the woman died. And yet we still cry 'heavenly serenity,' call the play 'Homeric,' and think the worse of Sophocles and Homer.

Kaibel's insistence that Electra, not Orestes, is the dominating figure, marked a great advance. But even he, because of this same fallacy, conceived the end as happy. To him, as to many of us, Electra seemed most beautiful in that brief moment of her joy when she greets her brother, free for the first time and the last from every thought of bitterness. Yet he forced himself to think the grim old Paidagogue's appeal for instant action, not a cruel interruption, but a summons to the service of a higher cause than love—the cause, forsooth, of god-commanded matricide. The end, he thought, was meant to be applauded as the consummation and the triumph of Electra's loyalty to God's just will.

If so, if Sophocles approved the matricide and used his art to trick us into sympathy with such a crime, Mr. Murray's phrase 'a certain bluntness of the moral imagination' is, if anything, too mild. We shall be tempted to agree with Mr. Livingstone that 'It is almost true to say that Sophocles never thought.'

The only wise, Zeus and Apollo, know
Truth and the way of man.

They know. Can a prophet know?

So think the Theban Elders in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (498 ff.). What reason have we to suppose that, if an oracle appeared to sanction matricide or incest, Sophocles believed the crime should be committed without further thought or scruple, in the full assurance that the criminal, by the bare statement 'God commanded me to do it,' would escape

the consequences? I know of none, unless this play compels us to believe it.

Wise men like Sophocles knew that oracles are riddles, which those who do not know their own hearts are not competent to understand. Both Sophocles and Euripides took this problem of Orestes as it was bequeathed to them by Aeschylus, and probed it, each in his own way. Aeschylus, brooding on the mystery of God and the human heart, had by no means unreservedly approved Apollo, nor suggested that his sanction and his cleansing could absolve the matricide. Apollo stood on trial, not Orestes only, in the *Oresteia*, and the human votes were equal. Pallas, the true representative of Zeus the Saviour, not Apollo, spoke the reconciling word. Euripides, who rightly held that the whole trade of oracles and divination was a folly and a nuisance, gladly emphasised the notion that Apollo sanctioned crime. It made good propaganda against Delphi. Sophocles, who was never bent on propaganda, but on clearing all irrelevances from his human tragedy, adopted a more subtle plan. He held, I think, no brief for Delphi. His purpose was to make a play, not frame an argument. But for that purpose, neither pandering to superstition nor denouncing it, he used the plain man's natural assumptions. To the author of this play and to his audience the killing of a mother was as revolting as it is to us. But what were the current notions about oracles?

A reader of Herodotus should know. At your peril you consulted Delphi. It might be wiser to refrain. Quite certainly it would be, if you were bent on mischief, since to tempt the god and to commit the crime 'amount to the same thing' (*ἴσον δύωτα*), as honest Glaucus found, who dared to ask if he might cheat his creditors with a false oath (Hdt. VI. 86). 'Swear your oath,' said the god, '*τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον*. In the long run you destroy your household.' Glaucus paid his debt, but even so left no posterity.

It did not help, in such a case, to frame your question tactfully, asking about the means, concealing your intention. When the men of Kyme were inclined to betray a suppliant, they asked at Branchidae, 'By doing what

in the matter of Paktyes shall we find favour with the gods?' Apollo read their hearts and bade them 'give him up.' A certain pious man, who doubted, asked again. 'Give him up,' said the god. Then the pious man began to kill the birds about the shrine, and, when a voice came from within, denouncing him for slaughtering the god's own suppliants, protested that the god seemed inconsistent. 'I gave the answer,' he was told, 'that ye might sin and the more quickly perish, and not come to me with such a question again' (Hdt. I. 157-9). Xenophon tried the same method when he wanted to join Cyrus. Socrates, who thought him foolish, begged him to consult Apollo. 'By sacrificing to what gods,' he asked, 'shall I be successful on the journey which I contemplate?' He was given a list of gods, but Socrates said, 'You should have asked whether you ought to go.' He went, and Cyrus cheated him, as he had tried to cheat the god (*Anab.* III. i. 6).

You could not, by consulting oracles, get rid of your own moral responsibility, and if you framed your question disingenuously, then acted on the answer without thought, you had no right to blame the gods when things went wrong. Croesus lost his throne, and nearly lost his life, by trusting Delphi, but Delphi told him 'he understood not that which was spoken, nor made further inquiry. Therefore now let him blame himself' (Hdt. I. 91). The Clouds, in fact, are following the normal practice, when they inform their victim that, if any man is found to be in love with villainy and trouble, they thrust him on to ruin, so that in the end he may be taught to fear the gods (Ar., *Nub.* 1441). In the face of such facts one readily understands the sage advice of Socrates (Xen., *Mem.* I. i. 9) to use the best of human judgment, not to trouble oracles, on matters which the gods have placed within our competence.¹

If a poet of the Periclean age desired to tell this famous story without raising

theological disputes, but concentrating interest on the human issues, he might well have hinted that perhaps the Pelopids were not the best interpreters of signs and omens. He might have made Orestes an impulsive, not ungenerous, yet not over-scrupulous youth, reared in the Pelopid tradition by a loyal but vindictive servant of his murdered father. He might have made him go to Delphi with his mind made up, asking ambiguously, impiously, 'By what means can I take vengeance on the murderers?' not honestly 'What should I do?' nor with frank shamelessness (which might insult the shrine), 'Ought I to kill my mother?' He might have made the god reply according to the questioner's folly, and have made Orestes speed without thought or scruple to the execution, neither hesitating nor reflecting 'What did the god mean?' That precisely is what Sophocles has done.

It is the morning of the Day. The Paidagogue is at work upon the education of the young Avenger.

Son of the Captain of the Greeks at Troy,
Agamemnon's child,

he calls him, bids him see his heritage,

The rich and ruinous house of Pelops' line,
then—with the return to Agamemnon,
which completes the paragraph's archaic
pattern, and drives home the argument—

They killed your father here, and here your
sister

Rescued you from the butchery. From her arms
I took you, saved you, and have reared you thus
To manhood, to avenge your father's murder.

So the poet tells us with what skill the youth's affections have been all his life exploited for the purpose of the vengeance. In the balance of the paragraph, with exquisite fitness, the reference to Electra corresponds to the mention of another innocent, distracted Argive maiden, Io.

Therefore, Orestes and good Pylades,
Prepare your plan for action.

The description of the morning sun, the voices of the birds (*σαφῆ* 'significant'), the waning of the night and stars, is famous. To the Paidagogue, as to Jebb and Schlegel, all the omens seem

¹ I owe the last two references to the kindness of Miss J. R. Bacon and Dr. W. H. S. Jones.

propitious. Happy weather for a god-commanded matricide. This morning hymn is preluded and ended by a call for action, not delay.

There is no better commentary on the sequel than Thucydides' analysis of war, the cruel schoolmaster, who makes men's dispositions like his own, and so abuses words that in the end 'uncalculating rashness' is esteemed 'a loyal courage' and 'provident delay, a specious cowardice.'

The pupil speaks, a young Greek gentleman, a lover of horses, who compares his monitor to a war-horse, first in the field, eager to take his master into the fray. Then he talks of Delphi. Every word becomes important.

Listen with care. I shall expose to you
All that is in my thought. If any fault
Or flaw remain, it is for you to mend.

(29-31.)

He has no counsellor except this embittered old man. Pylades, in the *Choephoroe* the representative of the god, is silent in this play. The Paidagogue, not Pylades, in the sequel is to end Electra's happiness for ever with his old cry 'Act, do not talk. . . . There will be time enough for memories' (1364-6).

I went to Delphi, to the oracle
Of Phoebus, with my question, by what
means . . .

(33.)

Precisely. The question is disingenuous, ambiguous, like that of Xenophon and of the men of Kyme.

Now listen. Thus, or nearly thus, the god Spoke: With no force of arméd men, alone, By cunning, do the righteous deed of blood.

(35-7.)

What was righteous? He did not ask. He thought it obvious. He saw no moral guidance, as he sought none. But Apollo had only bidden him to do 'the righteous deed of blood.' Did that include his mother? Or Aegisthus only?

When such an oracle we heard—do you Go in . . .

(38-9.)

The shift from the temporal to the causal sense of *ōre* is untranslatable. It happens while he speaks. In Sophocles such things are not syntactical eccentricities, but dramatic experiments, alive, significant.

And tell them—swear it with an oath—Orestes Is dead, by accident, in the games at Delphi, Thrown from his car—yes, that shall be your story.

(47-50.)

So naturally the thoughts come. The image of the horse develops in his mind to this. Again the language reflects the movement of the thought—*δρκω, προστιθείς*, 'report it, with an oath, which you may add' should not be smoothed away.

But perjury is not a safe device, though the scholiast can easily defend it on the ground that the god recommended cunning. The old man, when the time comes, will not take his oath, we may be sure. He knows his risks too well. As for Orestes, he speaks lightly; but for a man fresh from the oracle to swear he died at Delphi—that is hardly lucky. So Orestes feels, and he shudders when he talks about the urn, which he will say contains the relics of his body—

All that the fire has left, ashes and dust. (58.) The moment passes. He is not afraid of omens, 'fears no hurt from any word that pays' (61.).

So, with the memory of this ill-omened, blasphemous lie still haunting us, we hear him pray (67-72). He thinks himself the chosen minister, sent by the gods to purify this house. He has no doubts. It is pathetic, the docility with which he barks back to the old man's theme:

Occasion calls, and good success
Waits ever on occasion. Let us go. (75-6.)

Before they go a cry is heard within the palace. 'Some serving-maid in trouble,' says the Paidagogue, all eager to be off on the day's business. Instinct tells Orestes it is 'sad Electra.' 'May we wait and listen to her sorrow?'

No, let us try to do the god's command
First before everything.

So they go. Had they only waited, Electra might have learnt the truth at once, and have been spared at least the agony of hearing the grim messenger's unseemly eloquence, which bids her think her brother, whom she loves, is dead.

Electra's cry is certainly no lucky omen. The morning voices of the birds are not all happy, and her song—Orestes

does not hear it, but we do—is full of Sophoclean irony. ‘While I behold this daylight and the shimmering of stars I shall not cease lamenting. As the nightingale lamenteth for her children, so will I complain. . . . O Niobe, all tears, I reckon thee a goddess; thou art cased about with stone . . .’ (103-7 . . . 150-2).

Electra suffers, because for her, unlike the rest of them, love is deeper than hate. If Sophocles felt no need for reconciliation of conflicting claims, Electra feels it. She is torn between the stern conviction that it is her duty—a strange *εὐσέβεια*—to detest her mother and to pray for vengeance, and her natural, womanly *σωφροσύνη*. Here, as often, Aeschylus provides the theme, which Sophocles transforms.

A gentle child in the *Choephoroe*, urged by vindictive Trojan women, prays for vengeance. But she puts the ‘bad prayer,’ as she calls it, in the midst of good prayers for herself and for her brother. For herself she prays (140) that she may be ‘more modest-hearted and more righteous in her action’ than her mother—*σωφρονεστέραν μητρὸς γενέσθαι χεῖρά τ’ εὐσέβεστέραν*. The hopelessness of such an aspiration in her circumstances, and with such a creed as hers—for she, like all the rest of them, believes in vengeance—is the text which Sophocles, who did not hold that creed, but understood and pitied those who held it, has developed in the first part of this play.

When the Argive women beg Electra to be moderate, she says she cannot :

I know. I am not ignorant of my own spirit.
I am not free. Necessity of evil holds me . . .
(221.)

If the dead man must lie, a negligible heap,
And they, who slew him, pay not death for
death,
There will be left no Modesty nor Righteous-
ness on earth. (244-250.)

No *aiδώς* and no *εὐσέβεια*. It is the
climax of the *Kommos*.

Her speech of self-defence begins
with Modesty :

Ladies, I am ashamed if by excess
Of lamentation I offend . . . (254-5.)

So sensitive she is, so different from
her mother, who, as Aeschylus por-
trayed her, knew no shame :

I feel no shame to publish openly
My love for this my husband. Modesty
Fades out in time . . . (Ag. 847.)

Much have I said before to serve the time
Which now I feel no shame to contradict.
(Ag. 1372.)

Electra is ashamed, but, as she tells
her wrongs, she claims indulgence :

Friends, is there any room for Modesty,
Or good Religion here? Set in the midst
Of evil, we must practise evil still. (307-9.)

She feels herself in a moral trap. For
her, she thinks, *οὐτὲ σωφρονεῖν οὐτὲ*
εὐσέβειν πάρεστιν.

Chrysothemis, the gentle compromiser—not a heroine, yet not unlovable in her weakness—pleads ‘Our father, I know, forgives’ (400). Electra thinks it is the coward’s argument. And so perhaps, from Chrysothemis, it is. Yet when Electra denounces Chrysothemis, and calls her scornfully ‘your mother’s daughter, not your father’s’ (341, 366), Sophocles is preparing for a later scene, in which Electra recognises in herself, with loathing, Clytaemnestra’s spirit (608).

For the moment the news of Clytaemnestra’s dream cheers her and draws her closer to her sister. She persuades the child to pray for vengeance, and the Chorus say : ‘Your sister’s words are righteous : you, if you are modest-minded, will obey’ (464-5, *πρὸς εὐσέβειαν . . . εἰ σωφρονήσεις*).

They have caught Electra’s mood ; and while Chrysothemis is going on her touching errand they are chanting, ‘If I am not a fool in reading prophecies, Justice comes soon with Victory. The dream breathes joy and I am confident’ (474-480). They are wrong in their interpretation, for they think of the avenger coming with an army—

Yea, with the clash of many swords, the noise
Of many trampling feet, forth from the lair
Vengeance, brazen-footed Fury, ambush’d now
in night,
Cometh at last to the light . . . (487-90.)

Their song of hate is woven from
Aeschylean themes. After the exulta-
tion comes a sigh—

‘Alas! that ancient fount of sorrow,
Since Pelops drove his fatal car,
Hath weild incessantly, and the land groaneth
still.
When from that golden chariot Mytilos,

Flung headlong, violently, shamefully abused,
Sank to the waves and was engulf'd and slept,
There came upon this house sorrow and shame
and anguish,
Haunting it still. (505-15.)

That is the poet's subtle preparation for the story of the Delphic chariot disaster—not a good omen, since it links Orestes with the man who laid the curse upon the house.

Enter Clytaemnestra, talking of Modesty and Justice. It is easy to refute her. She did not kill for Justice, but for lust. She rails at Agamemnon for his sacrifice of her child, not of Helen's. And yet it is not quite easy for Electra to defend her father. Why did he kill Iphigeneia?

Go, ask the Virginal Huntress why her winds
At Aulis stopped the fleet. No, I will tell you,
We may not question her . . . (563-5.)

What if the story that the goddess claimed the child as compensation for an idle boast and for the hunting of a favourite beast were false? 'They tell me . . .,' she says (566). But what if it were not true? What if Agamemnon was a criminal?

Have you the right to kill him? By what law?
Take care. If you lay down this principle,
This ruthless law of vengeance, you pronounce
The sentence on yourself . . . (578-80.)

Murder is not a cure for murder. Yet in the same breath she cries:

What of Orestes? Often you have said
I cherished him to punish and to kill you.
Yes, if I could I would! So, I have said it!
Publish me to the world unnatural,
Abusive, vile, utterly lost to shame.
If I am all these things, be proud to know
You have a child so worthy of her mother. (603-9.)

Yet even now there is this difference—
No shame? You may be sure I am ashamed. (616.)

Clytaemnestra prays,
Hear me, Apollo! Lord, be gracious to me. (655.)

And we know that the wish she dares not utter is an insult to the god. The trick of the false news seems like the answer to her prayer.

The old man tells his tale so well that even Clytaemnestra suffers.

It is strange to be a mother. Though they hurt,
These children that we bear, we cannot hate them. (770-1.)

But Electra suffers more. In a moment the Queen congratulates herself. Electra cries:

Ah, woe is me! Now I can cry alas,
Orestes, for your fortune; laid so low,
Insulted by your mother! Is this well?
Cf. Not well for you! But as for him, all's well. (788-91.)

καλῶς ἔχει. The phrase is significant, and its effect is reinforced by the Paidagogue's grim comment:

By your leave I will go—if all indeed be well. (799.)

Those who think 'all's well'—πλεῖ τάδ' εὖ, as Aeschylus puts it—may be grievously mistaken. The effect will be repeated later in a far more tragic moment.

Chrysothemis returns, radiant in the belief that she has seen an offering from her brother at the tomb. 'Your brother's dead,' Electra tells her; then in a flash for the first time conceives herself as a possible avenger. 'Help me to kill Aegisthus!' (757). Even now some instinct, certainly not principle, saves her from saying, 'Let us kill our mother.' It is left for the Chorus to exclaim:

She careth not for death, if death may bring
The twofold Fury down . . . (1060-1.)

and to hail her as both 'wise' and 'pious'—

A loyal servant of life's highest laws,
Faithful to Zeus and righteous in his cause.
(1089 . . . 1095.)

That is the consummation of the theme first stated in the opening Kommos. The Chorus, who at first urged moderation, now accept Electra's view that normal instincts of *Sophrosyne* and *Eusebeia* must, in such a case as this, be sacrificed to a higher Wisdom and Piety—to the sacred cause of vengeance for the dead. The Chorus plays its part as a character in the action—so Aristotle said it should—'as in Sophocles.' We are not to think of it as speaking for the poet either here or in the last scene of the play.

Orestes comes with the urn—astonishing development of the Aeschylean image—

The men they sent they knew, but to each home
Instead of men come ashes in an urn.

Electra's sorrow is so touching that her brother has to reveal himself. She is transformed and happy, liberated for the moment by her love and joy even from thoughts of wrong and vengeance. Orestes reminds her. There is danger, and there is work to be done. When he tells her, 'I came when the god sent me,' the assurance seems to crown her happiness—

Is it a god who bringeth you home?
I count it a sign from God. (1264-5.)

There is tragic irony in this, and in her eagerness to have his promise that he will not leave her desolate nor rob her of the joy she has in him.

The Paidagogue breaks in with his call for action. The moment is favourable. Clytaemnestra is alone and unsuspecting.

Or. Ah! so you gave your message? I am dead?

Serv. Yes, you may count yourself a dead man here. (1341-2.)

Unlucky phrases. 'Have they joy of it?' Orestes asks.

Serv. I will answer when you act. As things are now,

All's well for them—all—even what is not well. (1343-5.)

It is a significant repetition, meant to prepare us for the sequel.

Electra prays, unconsciously echoing her mother's phrase:

Hear them, Apollo, and be gracious to them. (1376.)

Prosper these plans . . . (1381.)

She does not openly demand her mother's death, but Apollo knows her thought. The prayer will be granted. We shall see indeed 'what wages by the gods are granted to reward Impiety.' From this moment Electra is lost.

The men go to their work. Electra hears her mother's cry, and in her passionate devotion to Orestes bids him 'Strike again, if you have strength.' The Chorus mutter that 'the living dead are draining blood from those who slew' (1420-2), and Orestes stands before us with blood on his hands.

Ei. How is it with you, Orestes?

Or. In the house
All well, if Apollo's oracle was well. (1424-5.)

He is thinking still of the means, not of the righteousness of the act. No

need to ask Apollo how to kill a woman. But Aegisthus? How will the god's advice to come without armed forces serve against a strong man armed?

'Leave him to me!' cries Electra, and lures the scoundrel into security while Orestes drapes their mother's body on a bier within. Aegisthus thinks it is the body of Orestes and calls for Clytaemnestra. But Orestes bids him lift the pall and look. 'Do you not recognise? The dead to whom you speak are living.' 'Alas! I understand. It is Orestes.' 'You can read oracles? Yet you are caught' (1477-81).

From that moment Clytaemnestra's body lies unveiled, a silent witness.

The two men wrangle. Aegisthus asks for a little time to speak, but Electra cannot bear the strain much longer—

In god's name, brother, do not let him talk.
A little time? With lives fast bound to wrong,
What use in time for one who has to die?
Kill him at once. When you have done it, fling
The carrion to the buriers it deserves,
Out of our sight. Nothing but that can serve
To set me free, and blot out the old wrong.
(1483-90.)

It is blasphemous. And it is an utterance of her own despair. Now at last, it is true, Electra has no modesty and no religion.

Orestes has no scruples. He sees no Furies yet.

But Aegisthus speaks. Dying men, they say, speak truth.

Aeg. Why drive me in? If what you do is good,
What need of darkness? (1494-5.)

'Go in,' says the Avenger. 'You must die where you killed my father.' But Aegisthus shudders.

Aeg. Must all the evils of the Pelopid line
Be witness'd by this house? My own
to-day,
And what's to come?

Or. At any rate your own.
I read that oracle well.

Aeg. Your father's son
Inherits no great skill in reading omens.
(1497-1500.)

Thyestes thought the pure Apollo sanctioned incest. Agamemnon, 'criticising no prophet,' told himself that Artemis, the goddess who has pity on the travail-pangs of women, bade him murder Clytaemnestra's child. And

now, in Apollo's name, Orestes, last of the Pelopids, has killed his mother. It is surely idle to contend that the congratulations of the Chorus, 'Freedom after many sufferings has dawned upon the seed of Atreus,' or the serenity with which the matricide condemns to death all would-be law-breakers—'Were instant death the universal penalty the

world would be less villainous'—converts this tragedy to joy. The Pelopids were bad interpreters of signs. Athenians were experts. Orestes is pronouncing sentence on himself. As for Electra, she stands silent. There are worse tragedies than death, as even the weak Chrysothemis knew (1107-8).

J. T. SHEPPARD.

NOTES ON ÆSCHYLUS, PROMETHEUS VINCTUS.

317 (301). *αὐτόκτιτ'* ἄντρα: 'self-built,' Headlam; 'self-hollowed caverns,' Morshead; 'self-produced, i.e., made by nature, natural,' L. and S., 1926; and so Pearson on Soph. *Fr.* 332, *αὐτοκτίτους δόμους*. But this rendering makes the epithet otiose: can it mean 'made by yourself' (Oceanus), i.e., 'hollowed by the waves'?

506 (490). *δίαιταν*: 'haunt, abode, habitat,' as Miss W. M. L. Hutchinson has pointed out to me: cf. Aristotle *de Mondo*, 398b 32; and *N.E.* 1096a 27, *δίαιτα* as an example of Good in the Category of Place.

798 (773). *τῶν σῶν τιν' αὐτῶν ἐκγόνων*: 'one of thine own offspring,' Headlam. Brunck's *αὐτῆς* (which occurred to me independently) should surely be received into the text.

891 (865). *μίαν δὲ παιδῶν ἵμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ | κτεῖναι σύνευνον*: 'one

among these daughters,' Headlam; 'one bride,' Morshead; 'one maiden,' Bevan. Rather *παιδῶν ἵμερος*, 'desire for children'; cf. 895, *αὗτη κατ'* Ἀργος βασιλικὸν τέκει γένος, and Mimnermus 2. 13 ἄλλος δ' αὖ παιδῶν ἐπιδεύτεται, ὥντε μάλιστα | ἴμερίων κατὰ γῆς ἔρχεται εἰς Αἴδην. The latter quotation I owe to the kindness of Mr. Harrison, who also draws my attention to Apollodorus 2. 1. 5. 10, *πλὴν Τπερμνήστρας*. *αὗτη δὲ Λυγκέα διέσωσε παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα*. This is inconsistent with Æschylus, whether his *ἵμερος* means love for Lynceus or desire for children. And Hypernestra had to get married somehow, to be the ancestress of Heracles, so Apollodorus writes lower down, § 12, Δαναὸς δὲ ὑστερὸν Τπερμνήστραν Λυγκεὶ συνφύεσε. He seems to be conflating two variants of the story.

H. RACKHAM.

ΜΕΣΣΑΤΛΟΣ.

AP. RH. *Arg.* 3. 235 f.:

ἴνθα δὲ καὶ μέσσανλος ἀλήλατο· τῇ δὲ ἐπι τολλαι δικλίδες εὐτργεῖς θάλαμοι τ' έσων ίνθα καὶ ίνθα, δαιδαλέη δ' αἴθουσα παρέξ ἐκάπερθε τέτυκτο.

The description (in the *Argonautica*) of the palace of Æetes has been sadly obscured by the insistence of editors that *μέσσανλος* must mean an 'inner court,' the more so as they fail to explain how such a court could have been situated between the *ἔρκος* and the *μέγαρον*. We can reject with complete assurance as mere quibbles Brunck's¹

equation of the *μέσσανλος* with *αὐλή*, i.e., presumably, the *ἔρκεα* of 215; de Mirmont's² idea that the presence of the buildings referred to in the following lines makes this a closed-in, and therefore properly 'interior' court, and all the other interpretations on the basis of the Homeric *μέσσανλος*.

The very gender of *μέσσανλος* in this passage is a warning. In Homer it is an inner court where the cattle were put at night for greater safety, and is either masculine or neuter;³ here it is feminine, and the reader should accordingly be prepared for a definite depar-

¹ Note *ad loc.*, citing Eustathius on *Il.* 11 773, *αὐλής δὲ χόρτον οἱ μὲν . . . τὴν περιοχήν, οἱ δὲ τὸ χώρημα τῆς αὐλῆς, δὲ καὶ μέσσανλον ἀλλαχοῦ εἰπε.*

² Translation and notes *ad loc.*

³ *Il.* 11. 548, 17. 112, 657. 24. 29; *cp. Qu. Sm.* 12. 581.

ture from Homeric usage. Now Eustathius¹ tells us that ἡ μέσανδος and ἡ μέτανδος were used in Attic of the connecting door between two halls, ἡ μέση θύρα; μέσανδος is similarly described by Apollonius the lexicographer.² The particular meaning of μέση θύρα here is clear from other sources. Lysias³ tells how one night both doors of the αὐλή banged—ἐψόφει ἡ μέτανδος καὶ ἡ αὐλεῖος: Hesychius explains both μέσανδον and αὐλεία s.v. as ἡ τῆς αὐλῆς θύρα; and Harpocration⁴ explains that αὐλεῖος is the entrance from the street in an Attic house—αὐλεῖος ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρώτη θύρα τῆς οἰκίας.

μέσανδος, therefore, in the passage under discussion must be the door between the ἔρκος and the μέγαρον; and is not θύραν the feminine noun which is implied, though not expressed, in the latter part of the scholium?⁵

¹ Eust. on *Il.* II. 548; cf. sch. *Arg. ad loc.*, and Moeris ap. Stephani Lex. s.v. μέσανδον.

² Ap. Lex. s.v.; ἡ μέση θύρα τῆς αὐλῆς; cf. Suidas, s.v. μέσανδον.

³ Lysias *pro caede Erat.* 17.

⁴ Cf. Stephanus, s.v. αὐλεῖος.

⁵ μέσανδον δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν καὶ γυναικωνίτιν.

'THE POET' IN GREEK.

PROFESSOR D. M. Robinson, in his valuable and far-ranging survey *Sappho and her Influence*, p. 5, says: 'Down to the present day Sappho has kept the definite article which antiquity gave her and has been called "the poetess," though we must be careful to test a writer's use of the term.' The qualification in the last clause is important, and applies to Homer even more than to Sappho. 'The poet' in Greek authors does not invariably mean Homer. The shade of intonation may be 'the poet,' rather than 'the poet.' In Aristotle, at any rate, ὁ ποιητής seems sometimes to be neither more nor less definite than in Tennyson's 'this is truth the poet sings' (quoted by Professor Robinson), where the reader is expected to think of Dante when a rendering of *Inferno* V. 121-3 follows immediately. Bonitz (*Index Aristotelicus*, 609 b.) has missed *Politics*, 1260a 29, and *Rhetoric*, 1371b 31 (reading of P 1741: a reading wrongly rejected by Bekker). In these two passages ὁ ποιητής is used in place of 'Sophocles' and 'Euripides,' everybody being supposed to know that, within the realm of poetry, it was Sophocles who spoke of silence as woman's crown, and Euripides of the artist's eagerness to spend the main part of each day on the work in which he feels at his best.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

The recognition of this fact enables us to attach a stricter meaning than 'built' to ἐλήλατο. It responds to ηλασεν of two lines before, and means 'had been forged.' The entrance to the μέγαρον was a wrought metal gate of such magnificence as to attract the notice of strangers in the courtyard, and to call for comment by the narrator. τῇ δ' ἔπι means 'in addition to it'; for on either side of the μέσανδος, along the whole length of the πρόδομος, were a number of doors of rooms, which were accessible from the outer court, or more strictly, from the πρόδομος.

No importance need be attached to such variants as μέσαβος of the first hand in G., and μέσσαβος of L. 16. These are mere errors resulting from the easy confusion in minuscules of β and ν. Devarius,⁶ in his index to Eustathius, made a similar mistake; but even there, it should be observed, the word is applied to a θύρα and not to an αὐλή.

M. M. GILLIES.

⁶ P. 305 s.v. μέσανδος. οἱ Ἀττικοὶ . . . ἀπλῶς τὴν μέσην θύραν μέσαβον καὶ μέτανδον λέγουσι.

SOPHOCLES, *ANTIGONE*, 235.

IN a review¹ of my text of Sophocles published in the Oxford Series of Classical Texts, Mr. Alfred Körte throws doubt on my statement (Praef. p. v) that δεδραγμένος is the reading of Paris A. It was made on the authority of Mr. W. H. Lock's collation of certain passages, as I mentioned in the Preface and as is consequently known to Mr. Körte. But my critic hesitates on the ground that the reading is not recognised by Mr. Konrad Kuiper in the collation which he prepared for his own edition. How this may be I do not know, but in the future scholars may keep their minds at rest so far as this doubt is concerned. I have now before me a photograph of the MS., and δεδραγμένος is the reading given quite clearly without any suggestion of correction or variant. Why M. Masqueray preferred the authority of Paris 2884 remains obscure.

A. C. PEARSON.

¹ *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1925, 1409.

PLAUTUS *MILES GLORIOSUS* 786.

Quoique sapiat pectus; nam cor non potest quod nulla habet.

TYRRELL's note is: 'cor: the seat of the feelings; generally in Pl. of the intelligence.'

But can 'shrewdness' (*sapientia*) be attributed to the feelings? Lorenz, like Tyrrell, holds that *cor* here = 'heart' in the *modern* sense. Both editors refer to *Cist.* 65-6.

SEL. At mihi cordolum est.

GYM. Quid? id unde est tibi cor? commemora obsecro;

Quod neque ego habeo neque quisquam alia mulier, ut perhibent uiri.

So here the meaning would be, 'the men say that all women are heartless.'

As against this view it may be argued:

1. That the usual meaning of *cor* is 'intelligence.' Further, in the cases where it must mean 'feelings,' this is usually made clear by the presence of some other word such as *amare*, *dolere*, etc. Apart from the phrase *cordi esse* we may say that *cor* used metaphorically, and not accompanied by any word expressing emotion, would naturally be taken by a Roman—at any rate in Plautus' time—to mean 'intellect.' And to couple it with a word like *sapientia* would surely exclude the possibility of any other signification.

2. The rendering 'heart' (i.e. 'feelings') gives poor sense in both our passages. Why should Periplectomenus complain that the lady he is looking for will be 'heartless'—an attribute which is all to the good so far as his plan is concerned? And Gymnasium's remark 'the men say we are all heartless' seems to strike an utterly false note when we consider the cynical and unsentimental atmosphere of Plautine comedy and the character in which the men themselves appear.

Let us, then, give *cor* its usual meaning. The M.G. passage (cf. line 783) will then mean 'who's ready of wit: she can't be ready of mind, as a matter of fact, for no woman has one' (Nixon); although the joke—based on the physical connexion between *pectus* and *cor*—appears more clearly if we render freely 'who has a shrewd head; for brain no woman has.'

It is not so easy to bring out the play upon words in the *Cist.* passage. Nixon's rendering ('But I'm so sick, mentally.' 'What? Where did you get that mind?') hardly suggests that there is such a play upon the word *cor*. In the compound *cordolum* the latter part shows that *cor* refers to the feelings. The general meaning, then, is:

SEL. But my heart is full of grief.

GYM. What? Where did you get that (heart, i.e.) intelligence, when I haven't got one, or any other woman either, according to the men?

W. BEARE.

CASVS ARMORVM.

IN Cicero *ad Atticum* XV. 9, 2, we have the sentence, *di immortales, quam me conturbatum tenuit epistolae tuae prior pagina! quid autem iste in domo tua casus armorum?* sed hunc quidem nimbum cito transisse laetor. The question is, what *casus armorum* means. Boot cites Manutius, who *rixam putat significari*; the latest edition (1915) of Tyrrell and Purser gives a similar explanation, and adds 'lit. "chance of arms," "chance outbreak." cp. *casus nauigandi*, Att. VI. 1, 9, *casus hutius belli*, Fam. VI. 1, 7.' It may be added that *casus* can mean something not unlike 'incident,' see *Thesaurus s.u.*, col. 582, 39. Even so, *casus armorum* for 'incident of armed violence' seems an odd phrase, and if such a thing had happened in Atticus' house, why do we hear no more of it? The end of Tyrrell and Purser's note suggests, I think rightly, that Cicero is in fun here (he has just said that he must laugh, having wept himself tired), and further, that he is pretending to make a great to-do about the fall of something like a cupboard, *armariorum* for *armorum*. But why change the text? May not Atticus have written a mock-serious description of how some piece of armour, or the like, hung on the wall, had fallen down and startled his household, perhaps in the dead of night, arousing visions of burglars, armed assassins, or ghosts? Cicero now gives jest for jest, pretending to have been greatly moved by this incident and to discuss it as a serious portent. For dedicated arms to fall down was portentous, see Cicero *de divin.* I. 74 (before the battle of Leuctra) *Lacedaemoniis . . . significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt . . . at eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Herculis . . . arma . . . quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inuenta.* In a private house there might well be some arms kept for use in such disturbed times as those, and if there were not, arms and trophies of arms are not so uncommon in ancient domestic art,¹ and real ones might be used as we sometimes use them, simply to decorate the walls. If Cicero is joking, there is more point in the solemn phrase, *hunc quidem nimbum, etc.*, which, although the editors do not seem to notice it, is manifestly taken from the famous simile of Demosthenes, XVIII. 188, *τούτο τὸ Ψήφισμα τὸ τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κινδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν δοπτέρ νέφος.*

H. J. ROSE.

¹ See for instance *Pitture d'Ercolano* (Naples, 1762), III., pp. 73, 79, 197, 229, 233, 289; Reinach, R.P.G.R., p. 272.

REVIEWS

ZEUS.

Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion.

Vol. II. By A. B. COOK. In two parts.

Pp. xlivi + 1397; 47 plates, 1,024 illustrations in text. Cambridge: University Press, 1925. £8 8s.

THE first volume of this magnificent work contained 885 pages of text and notes; the second contains 1397, and we are promised a third.

Ζεύς ἦρ, Ζεύς ἔρωτος, Ζεύς ἔρωτας· & μεγάλη Ζεῦ.

The present volume, even more than the former one, requires a syndicate of experts to review it properly. Merely as a collection of material it is probably quite without parallel; and however much one may differ from some of the author's conclusions, the service he has rendered to scholarship and anthropology passes estimation. The work is almost as important for the study of Roman as for that of Greek religion; and on one subject after another we have a very complete collection and discussion of evidence and of previous views, which would otherwise have to be sought in the most diverse quarters, and of which a considerable proportion appears here for the first time. The illustrations, as before, are excellent, and include figures of a great number of unpublished objects, many from the author's own collection; and special attention should be called to those contained in the folder at the end of the volume, particularly to the fine reconstructions of the *Zeus Olympios* and *Athena Parthenos* and *Pheidias*. The volume is especially rich in figures of coins, and Dr. Cook's interpretations of these will no doubt receive the careful consideration of numismatists; with these, as with many other aspects of the work, I am not competent to deal.

Before I write of the subject-matter of the book I must unburden myself of a grievance in regard to form. Dr. Cook's prefatory defence of his notes is sound enough; and if we have sometimes to read seven or eight pages in which there are only two or three lines of text in all, and the rest consists of

notes, this causes no real difficulty. My complaint concerns the manner in which the notes, and particularly the quotations in them, are printed. (1) The quotations are interrupted by textual annotations, often of some length, in the middle of the sentences, so that to get a whole sentence one has to be perpetually skipping bracketed passages. The annotations might well be kept for the end of the sentence or even of the passage. As printed, the quotations are almost unreadable (e.g. pp. 37 and 41). (2) The notes and appendices are interrupted, not infrequently, by enormous parentheses, so that a sentence begun e.g. at the top of p. 1062 is not continued till the top of p. 1064. (The preceding pages supply many other terrible instances.) (3) In the numerous notes, which consist mainly of quotations from ancient authorities, these quotations are printed quite continuously without any adequate interspacing, so that a reader who lifts his eyes from the book can only with difficulty find his place again in the unbroken small type. A note like that which occupies pp. 940-943 is almost maddening.

The previous volume treated primarily of Zeus as Lord of the Bright Sky; the present thinks of him mainly as Lord of the Stormy Sky—of rain, lightning, and thunder, though many of the subjects of the volume have only a very slender connexion with this theme. Dr. Cook's method is still exposed to the same hazards as I enumerated in reviewing Volume I., and it may not be amiss to illustrate some of these.

In the course of an account of the cult of *Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης* Dr. Cook notices the adjective *ἐνηλύσιος* as applied to places and persons struck by lightning, and the evidence of Hesychius that such places were also known as *ἡλύσια*, so that a man struck by lightning might be said to be 'in Elysium,' through the divinity conveyed to him by the lightning flash that slew him

(p. 22). This is not impossible, though the fact that Hesychius gives no indication of the date of the usages to which he refers leaves it very uncertain whether they are at all early; and it remains at least possible that—if there is any allusion at all to Elysium in ἐνηλύσιος—the usage may be a euphemism (like χρηστός ποιεῖν = ἀποκτείνειν). But Dr. Cook next connects these words with ἡλυσίη = ὁδός (the word is only known from the lexicographers, and is first found in Hesychius), and takes this (without, so far as I can see, any evidence) to mean 'a definite way from earth to heaven,' along which those honoured by the summons of Zeus might pass; then he identifies this with the Διὸς ὁδὸς παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν of Pindar, *Ol.* II. 70, and the λιπαρὰ ὁδός, on which in Pindar, fr. 30, the Fates bore Themis παρὰ κλίμακα σεμνάν; and all these are next identified with the Milky Way, and the evidence for the conception of this as a path of souls by Pythagoras is given. The ascription of the same conception to Parmenides and to Plato in the *Phaedrus* is very unconvincingly argued; the curved band of light in the Vision of Er in the *Republic* may be the Milky Way, though the language hardly suggests it: there is no hint in Plato's text that it is a path of souls. But it is there connected with a pillar of light, and this leads Dr. Cook to a very long discussion of Sky-pillars in Italy, of the Irminsūl or Jupiter-columns in Germanic lands, imperial columns, trophies, Agyieus pillars, and the Omphalos at Delphi—originally the base of a sky-pillar. Dr. Cook thinks that as the Anglo-Saxon Ear was a sky-god and also the German Irmin (the Saxon Irminsūl was his pillar), the Platonic 'Er the son of Armenius' is derived from a Germanic source, both names being Graecised equivalents of the Saxon names, and that the intermediaries in the transmission were the Orphics, handing on Thracian beliefs. (Dr. Cook passes over very lightly the fact that Plato speaks of Er as a Pamphylian.) Apparently the pillar of light in the myth is supposed to be parallel to the Irminsūl, and to Jupiter-columns surmounted by representa-

tions of the god. And Dr. Cook goes so far as to speak of Er the son of Armenius as *standing on* a straight light like a pillar (p. 114). For this the text of Plato gives no justification. Er narrates how he and other pilgrims (there is not a trace of the god about him) approached the pillar of light; but it is very hard to see how (if it was continuous with the light encircling the universal sphere as in Adam's diagram) he could have stood on it. (The argument for Thracian influence in the account of the pillar of light which guided Thrasybulus to Munychia, according to a legend preserved by Clement, also rests on an inaccurate account of Xenophon's description of the march; Dr. Cook says that at Munychia Thrasybulus' troops 'occupied the precincts of Artemis and of the Thracian Bendis'; but Xenophon only says that they filled the road leading to these precincts.) Again, I cannot but think it very risky to argue (p. 63) that because in German mythology the Milky Way is the path of the *Wütende Heer*, Plato's myth of the soul-procession following the chariot of Zeus along the Milky Way [Plato does not say this] 'presupposes a popular belief akin to that of the Furious Host.' There is, I think, no other hint of such an idea in Greek literature. Further, the blaze of light connected with Dionysus (in Thracian cults, Euripides, etc.) seems to be a very different thing from the Cosmic Axis of the myth of Er. Nor can I believe that the words ἴμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνον on the Orphic tablet mean 'I have set foot on the Milky Way'; nor that (on account of a ladder, interpreted as a soul-ladder, which she—if it is she—holds in an Italian terracotta figure) Baubo and not Persephone is the Mistress mentioned on the same tablet, Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδν χθονίας βασιλείας; nor, again, that the κλίμαξ σεμνά of Pindar is satisfactorily explained by the ladder-mark tattooed on Thracian women on Attic vase-paintings of the fifth century. (The ladder, it is suggested, was used by the souls for climbing on to the Milky Way.) Somewhat later (p. 116) Apollon Agyieus is explained as 'lord of the road from earth to heaven,' and

the Agyieus-column as essentially a 'universe-column'; and (p. 481) the Eridanus in the Phaethon myth is said to have been originally the Milky Way, and Okeanos itself (after a suggestion of Berger) a celestial stream of stars. It is not really fair to attempt to discuss these matters in a short space. I mention them only as instances (with others which follow) of the surprises for which the reader must be prepared.

Dr. Cook's discussion of Delphi and all that is connected with it is full of interest. He is convinced that the *όμφαλός* discovered by Courby is the original one, and that the mysterious E (laid on its side) is simply the symbol of the sky supported on its central pillar, and on the two side-props which (he afterwards argues) came to be personified as the Dioskouroi. (The latter point seems to me very doubtful, but it arises in the course of some most instructive sections about twins.) His most hazardous conjecture in regard to Delphi is that which makes the tripod a 'caldron of apotheosis,' in which the Pythia 'pretended to be boiled,' and so raised to divinity as the bride of Apollo. The story of the death of Dionysus (pp. 218-219) certainly does not show that the Delphic tripod was a caldron of apotheosis, for in this story, after the torn limbs of Dionysus had been dropped in the caldron, they were not resuscitated, but buried by Apollo. On the other hand, the case which Dr. Cook states for believing Dionysus to have been prior to Apollo at Delphi deserves the most careful consideration, and his treatment of Dionysus generally, in this as in the earlier volume, is of great value.

From Dionysus we are led to the two-headed Zeus, and to a very interesting discussion of Janus and of bifrontal gods generally, and therewith of Záv. The latter is treated as an older Zeus, the object of an Illyrian cult, which passed naturally to the Dorians, who are regarded (after Ridgeway) as of Illyrian descent. But it is rather a shock to be asked to believe that in the famous words Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθυνκε we should read (or understand) Záv for Πάν; and the explanation of the phrase βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας by a supposed

formula of secrecy in the cult of the bull-god Záv is equally surprising.

After the account of sky-pillars and twins generally, which has already been referred to, there follows a long and complicated discussion of the origin of the cult of Apollo (its purpose being to show that Apollo and Artemis were *not* twins to begin with); the myths of Phaethon and of the Hyperboreans and the amber-routes are all brought in, and it is argued that the plant brought to Greece by Heracles was the white poplar, not the olive, and that Apollo was a black-poplar god, who only later took to the bay-tree. Much of this is hard to believe despite the learning and ingenuity of the arguments.

The next section of the book (pp. 514-704) is of the very highest value: in it the whole of the available material relating to the double-axe is exhaustively and lucidly treated, with a very rich collection of archaeological illustrations; and I at least can follow Dr. Cook whole-heartedly in most of his discussion. Whether Constantine really derived the *labarum* from a double-axe cult remains, I think, somewhat uncertain; and I doubt whether the explanation of the lictor's axe (on p. 633) is tenable. Dr. Cook's contributions to the ornithology of Penelope also fail to convince me, but it is refreshing to read (on p. 698) that "it cannot be too strongly insisted that, to the Greeks of the classical period, Odysseus and Penelope . . . were simply hero and heroine, and uncommonly human at that. After all, this is the secret of their immortality."

In the later pages of Part I, Dr. Cook shows how the thunderbolt of Zeus is gradually eliminated, and there is a transition 'from might to right' in the conception of the god in art. The history of the representation of the thunderbolt in art is very full and well illustrated. With it is connected the discussion of the relation of Poseidon to Zeus. Dr. Cook thinks that Poseidon was originally a special form of Zeus, and that the trident was the thunderbolt. (Erechtheus was also the lightning god.) His argument has a great deal in it, but in this case, as in many others, I feel driven to ask what is really meant by saying that one god is identical with,

or a form of, another. At least some distinction seems desirable between similarity of function and identity of personality.

The Appendices, which fill Part II, contain an immense amount of treasure buried in tiny print. The first is a history of the art-types of Kairos, very entertaining as well as learned. The second, on the Mountain cults of Zeus, is a very full and valuable collection of evidence from all periods, branching out into a number of connected topics. Appendices E and F contain collections of delightful folk-tales, early and modern, parallel to the stories of the Cyclops and of the Dioskouroi and Helen. Appendix G, on the Orphic Cosmogonies and Eros, is the most satisfactory treatment of these subjects known to me. There follows a series of appendices on special Zeus-cults—those of Ζεύς, Κτήσιος, Z. 'Αγαμέμνων, Z. 'Αρφάραος, Z. 'Ασκληπιός, Z. Μειλίχιος, Ζεύς Φίλιος, most of which are explained not as the result of a fusion or superposition of cults, but as going back to kings supposed to incarnate Zeus. There is much room for discussion here, and I am not sure if sufficient attention is paid to the dates of the various notices and works of art which are cited. Many of them seem to be too late to be good evidence of early cult: but this is a matter which needs a long and detailed study. In the course of Appendix M, there occurs (p. 1135) what appears to be a very hazardous interpretation of the central slab of the E. frieze of the Parthenon, according to which the βασιλεύς is being presented with the πέπλος, which he is to wear himself, and so to 'put on immortality.' Is

there the least positive evidence that he ever did this? The volume contains many new and surprising derivations of words. Thus (p. 421) Artemis 'Ορθία is 'the older phonetic equivalent of the Latin Verbius'; Κρόνος means 'the Chopper' (*κείρω*) (p. 549); Dius *fidius* is connected with *findo*, not with *fides* (p. 726): *Φελχάρος* with 'willow' and cognate words; 'Ευηβόλος etc. with *έκάω* (he who strikes what he wills), not with *έκάς* (p. 1042): and 'Ασκληπιός means 'creepy-crawly,' and is connected with *σκαλαπάζειν*, *άσκαλαβος* ('lizard') etc. In etymologies all things are possible; but these and some others are not convincing at first sight.

This review, however, would give an entirely false impression of the volume and of the reviewer's opinion of it, if it suggested that Dr. Cook was just one of the wild men of scholarship, of whom at present (particularly on the anthropological side) there are many. The fact is that the work which he has done is invaluable; it could have been done by no one else; a great part of it will never need to be done again; and if there is a good deal in it which seems over-venturesome, this adds to the interest and gives delightful mental exercise to the reader; and Dr. Cook is so frank and full in his statement of the arguments for his paradoxes, that any careful reader will have the material for forming his own judgment given him, and his difference of opinion will be inseparably blended with gratitude to the author from whom he differs. For myself, I feel that I owe Dr. Cook an apology for venturing to review his book at all.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

A FRENCH HISTORY OF GREECE.

Histoire Ancienne, Deuxième Partie. Histoire Grecque, Tome Premier: Des Origines aux Guerres Médiques. Par GUSTAVE GLOTZ avec la collaboration de ROBERT COHEN. Pp. xix + 634; 8 maps and 2 tables. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925.

THIS is the first volume of a universal history, which is to be published under

the editorship of Professor Glotz. As regards Ancient History, there is to be one volume by Moret on the Ancient East, four upon Roman History by Pais, Bloch, Gsell, and Besnier respectively, and three upon Greek History, all by Glotz and Cohen.

Over the *Cambridge Ancient History* our volume has the obvious advantages of the consistent point of view of single

authorship and the opportunity for the continuous development of the theme without inadvertent gaps upon the one hand or overlapping upon the other. In respect of the specialist's mastery of particular subjects or aspects of Greek history the *Cambridge History* has plainly the better of it. The basis of the treatment of the Bronze Age is Glotz, *La Civilisation Égénne*, which is not impeccable (see Wace in *J.H.S.* XLIV., p. 137). That of the next section is Glotz, *La Solidarité de la Famille*. Here the view of the fundamental priority of the *genos* to the *phratry* (but see Adcock in *C.A.H.* III., p. 688, and the relevant references in his bibliography) is maintained. I cannot here throw stones; *et ego in Arcadia uixi*. The expansion of Greece rests mainly upon the sound basis of Busolt.

The learning of the book is undeniable. The references to the literature of the subject, if sometimes indiscriminate, are excellently full, and show the great advantage of the footnote over the vague general bibliographies of the *Cambridge History*. But in spite of its real merits, I am unable to give the book unqualified praise.

The slovenliness of the general bibliography provides an unfortunate introduction. Here are three selected illustrations: (1) 'The Year's Work in Classical Studies (Bristol), publié successivement depuis 1906 par H. D. House, S. Gascoole, C. Bailey, L. Wibley, et Stuart Jones, et continué depuis 1922 par Robinson.' (2) The reader is referred to a book of Farnell which does not exist. (3) G. F. Moore is credited with C. H. Moore's book as well as his own, and the place of publication of both works is said to be Edinburgh.

The footnotes, I am glad to say, achieve a higher standard of accuracy, and most of the references which I have checked have proved to be accurate. There is sometimes an irritating inexactitude of detail. For instance, Herodotus is said to make use of Attic inscriptions, and we are referred to I. 31 and I. 92 for illustration. But neither of the inscriptions in question (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 5 and 6) is in fact Attic.

The text upon p. 313 would naturally lead the reader to suppose that Herodotus III. 59 and Plutarch, *Q.G.* 57, mentioned the Lelantine War, which is not the case. Herodotus III. 59 (Samian exiles at Kydonia and Amphi-krates and Aegina) must be a mistake. Perhaps III. 48 is intended, but even so it is Glotz, not Herodotus, who rightly or wrongly brings in the Lelantine War. Similarly p. 329, n. 193, gives the wrong impression that Herodotus III. 48 mentions the establishment of democracy at Samos. Thucydides I. 43 contains no comment upon the almost insular security of Athens (p. 377). Ramsay's article on 'Pisidian Wolf-Priester, Phygian Goat-Priester, and the old Ionian Tribes' (*sic*), *J.H.S.* XI. (*sic*), 1920, supports quite a different theory to that advanced in the text on p. 394, though I cannot personally accept it, any more than I can agree with Glotz that 'Aigicoreis s'explique aisément par le rapprochement du héros Aigeus avec les Dioscoroi et désigne les fils d'Égée.'

That the Achaeans were the introducers of 'Minyan' pottery and began to arrive in Greece *circa* 2000 B.C.; that cremation first appeared with the Dorians; that Homeric evidence may legitimately be used for the political map of post-Dorian Greece (*e.g.*, p. 317, n. 119); that the Hittites, whose raids preceded the Kassite conquest of Babylon (a misprint for Kassites is precluded by the date 1925, which is that of the Hittite raid), were 'sans doute' Indo-Europeans (p. 74); that free labour suffered from slave competition under the aristocratic régime which preceded the rise of tyranny in Greek states (p. 237); that the five Megarian districts of Plutarch, *Q.G.* 17, belonged to Dorian Megara and, in any event, were at all analogous to the five villages of Sparta (see Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundesgenossen*, I., p. 237); that the poems of Theognis reflect the political conditions not of Megara, but of Megara Hyblaea; all these matters of varying importance are at least debateable.

As regards Athenian history, I am not clear whether p. 409 is intended to affirm the existence of a pre-Solonian-Athenian currency or not. The door

seems first to be shut and then reopened. For a criticism of Babelon's view, which appears to be that which Glotz is loath to surrender, see Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, pp. 11-17. Seltman's recent attempt, which is not mentioned, to identify the 'Carthaea' coin as a pre-Solonian Attic didrachm, has not been accepted by the numismatists (see Robinson, *C.R.* XXXIX., p. 214).

As regards Athenian constitutional history, Professor Glotz may well become the chief villain of the piece in the lecture-room of Queen's College, Oxford. Those who there imbibed the pure milk of the doctrine of Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.* will find that in every well-known difficulty Professor Glotz is of the other party. He believes that *hektemoroi* paid five-sixths of the produce. He thinks that *καθάπερ διήρητο καὶ τρόπερον* (7, 3) is not a mere clumsy botch in the interests of consistency with the details of the apocryphal *Constitution of Draco* (4, 3), but that it outweighs the otherwise unanimous tradition of antiquity that Solon invented the classification by property qualification. He even considers that *pentakosiomedimnoi* was a pre-Solonian social label, and he does not notice that it differs from the other three class names in specifying the precise qualification involved. He does not seem to regard the statement (8, 1) that Solon introduced mixed sortition for the election of archons as surprising, nor realise that subsequent inconsistencies in the *Ath. Pol.* and a passage in the *Politics* could be used as arguments against it.

Of what may be called the subsidiary

topics, the short summaries dealing with language, literature, and art are clear and, so far as I am able to judge, adequate. As regards religion, the general outline of development is drawn with fair competence, though the ignoring of the extremely important spread of hero-worship in post-Homeric Greece is a very serious defect. Indeed, the meagre reference to heroes upon p. 492 suggests a deep-seated misapprehension as to the character of this phenomenon. The account of the cult of Asklepios (p. 510) also contains bad mistakes. In detail there are naturally matters about which two opinions are possible—e.g., that the Erinyes were, in origin, vengeful ghosts (p. 489) I do not personally believe. Against p. 488, however, it can be categorically stated that there is no satisfactory evidence whatever that any Greek people was ever organised in totemic groups. The description of the nicknames of the non-Dorian tribes at Sicyon as totems (p. 331) is either meaningless or wrong. The story of the alleged introduction of the cult of a Cretan Heracles by Cleisthenes at Sicyon (p. 332) is, to speak roundly, nonsense. So, though it is unfortunately not unique, is the statement (p. 508) that at Delphi 'aux temps préhelléniques, on vénérait en ces lieux Gaia, la Terre-Mère, accompagnée de Python, une femelle de serpent, et servie par les prêtres de la Double Hache, les Labyades.' Pp. 383 and 509 suggest that Professor Glotz holds to the old superstition, which has been exploded by Farnell's recitation of the facts (*Hero-Cults*, pp. 103 ff.), that cults of Heracles are necessarily connected with Dorians.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE WORK AND LIFE OF SOLON.

The Work and Life of Solon. With a translation of his Poems. By KATHLEEN FREEMAN, M.A., Lecturer in Greek, University of South Wales, Monmouthshire. Pp. 236. Cardiff: The University of Wales Press Board; London: Humphrey Milford, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net.

THE book consists of three parts, in addition to two Appendixes containing NO. CCCVI. VOL. XLI.

a bibliography of the modern as well as the ancient writers. Part I. consists of five chapters which deal, not only with the *Seisachtheia* and the Constitutional Reforms, but also with the Attic State before Solon, the Coinage, and the Laws of Solon. Part II. deals with the Life of Solon, while in Part III. we have a translation of the Poems.

Miss Freeman's work is clearly the

outcome of considerable industry. She has mastered the references in the ancient writers, and she has read most of the moderns, although there appears to be no reference in text, footnotes, or index to so well-known a book as the late Sir P. Vinogradoff's *Jurisprudence of the Greek City*. The merit of the work lies in its record of statements and views, both ancient and modern, and for those who cannot read German such a record can hardly fail to be useful. It must in fairness be admitted that the writer has little liking for views that are extreme, and much of what she has to say is marked by sound common-sense. The chapter which treats of the very difficult question of Solon's work on the Attic coinage will be welcomed by those who are not professed numismatists. On the other hand, it cannot be said that the writer of this book has made any material contribution to the solution of the extremely difficult problems which are connected with the reforms of Solon, whether constitutional or economic. She seems to have accepted the temper of Solon himself as her ideal, and to find a way out of all perplexities in clinging to the *via media*. The task which she has set herself is sufficiently ambitious, but for its achievement a deeper insight into constitutional principles and a wider range over economic and constitutional analogies than we find any evidence of in this book are requisite. Between the history of opinion and the art of thinking there is a great gulf fixed, and for the solution of these problems the one thing needful is to think clearly and consistently and, for the time being at least, to forget many of the opinions. Opinions too should be sorted as well as tabulated, and arguments weighed as well as counted.

It is in the treatment of the problems which are most fundamental that an excessive caution, and at times a lack of critical insight, is most to be observed. To take a few instances. In arriving at a decision as to the nature of the *Seisachtheia* there are clearly two questions to be answered which are of first-class importance. The first is the relation of the *έκτήμοροι* to the *γεωμόροι* on the one hand, and to the *ζευγῆται* on

the other. The second is the interpretation of *ὅποι* in Solon's Poems. The discussion of the first of these questions is far from clear, and the conclusion arrived at is an unsatisfactory compromise. The claim of the *ὅποι* to be boundary-stones is disposed of in a footnote and on curiously inadequate grounds. Aristotle's view in the *Constitution of Athens* that the archons were appointed by sortition is accepted, and the difficulties involved in this are explained away by a series of possibilities. Most unsatisfactory of all is the discussion of the basis of the four Solonian property classes. Of two things, one: either the basis was property in land, or else it was property of any sort or kind. The difference between the two marks the difference, and a very profound difference, between two stages of constitutional developement. Yet we read: 'It is safest to hold to the tradition that Solon assessed the classes in terms of produce from land; and to conjecture that he did not expressly insist on a land-qualification, so that the way was left open for the substitution of money-income for produce-income. We may even conjecture that here, as in his religious regulations, he added a clause equating one medimnos with one drachma; but whether he did so or not, this was a change that would rapidly and naturally take place so long as no definite bar such as a land-qualification was placed in its way.' Again, on p. 141, we read as follows: 'An important temporary measure prohibited the export of all natural products except olive oil. . . . It appears from this that Attica was then producing less than she consumed of everything but olive oil. She had to import corn—hence her anxiety to acquire a post on the Pontic corn-route; her means to pay for corn had to be derived from the export of oil and manufactured goods.' It is only just to confess that the view that is here implied, i.e., that pre-Solonian Athens was dependent on imported corn, has found not a few advocates before the writer of the present work; but the form in which the view is here expressed seems at first sight to imply a logic that is almost perverse.

That it should be necessary to furnish the reader with a translation of the fragments of Solon's Poems suggests the somewhat melancholy reflection

that Greek history is now being studied, at least in the newer universities, by those who cannot read Greek.

E. M. WALKER.

THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

The Works of Aristotle (translated into English): *Ethica Nicomachea*. By W. D. Ross, Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College; Deputy Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1925. Paper, 6s. net; cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR Ross is to be congratulated upon something of an achievement. His translation moves on a high level. His handling, e.g., of the close argument in IX. 9 on the perception of self and its enhancement in friendship, though a favourable, is by no means an isolated sample of his expertise. The brachylogies, however, of the original, and the fact that its technical vocabulary was in the making, still leave abundant room for differences of opinion.

Mr. Ross offers no alternative renderings, and this is as it should be. But questions at once arise. If, for example, the text says (VI. 2. 1) that sense, intelligence, and desire are the things determinant *πράξεως καὶ ἀληθείας*, and an editor concludes, from the phrase 'practical truth' just below, to translate as a hendiadys, must he still add Mr. Ross's version, 'action and truth,' as a translation, or is there no such thing as a translation? If, again, he holds that what a man can pretend to without detection (IV. 7. 13) is skill in cures by divination, must he condemn Mr. Ross's 'powers of a seer, a sage, or a physician' as wrong?

Mr. Ross shows uniformly how he takes his words—an outstanding merit. There is some loss, of course, of the staccato effects of the original: 1153a 6 *ἄστορ' οὐδὲ γῆδονταί* takes twelve words to express. Occasional, though rare, clumsiness too—e.g., VII. 3. 9 ff. on the practical syllogism. Of the way in which Mr. Ross disdains to be non-committal: 1138b 34 'what is the right rule, and what is the standard that fixes

it' (*τούτου τις δόσις*), may serve as an instance.

Professor Ross pays special attention to 'terms that are just crystallizing from the fluidity of everyday speech,' and tones down, in this their initial use, terms that later became more technical. Thus *ἔξις* is a state of mind or character, a disposition, a practised faculty (once), and once (quite correctly) a habit of body. The word *λόγος* is similarly deflated. In 1102b 32, however, *ἔχειν λόγον* is not, as Mr. Ross renders it, 'to account for.' *Λόγος* too must have the same meaning in the parallels II. 9. 8 and IV. 5. 13. Mr. Ross gives 'by reasoning' and 'in words.' Compare the variation as to *ὅροι* in VI. 8. 9 ('limiting premisses') and VI. 11. 4 ('terms'). Mr. Ross is scarcely successful with the word *βουληστής*. The infringement of personality involved in seduction is more than against the victim's 'wish' (1136b 5).

Non-technical expressions Mr. Ross reduces to their popular sense. If the egoist is reproached (IX. 8. 1) with doing nothing *ἀφ' εαυτοῦ*, it is translated 'of his own accord,' which gives a poor sense. *Μεγαλοψυχία* is of course 'pride,' rather discounted by 'proper pride' in one place, and the repeated use of 'undue' as the adjective of humility. In Book IV., where Coraes goes into raptures over *κλιμβίκες*, and Professor Burnet talks of the vocabulary of the New Comedy, Mr. Ross can only rise to 'stingy' and the like. 'Inirascibility' and—what is surely in modern literature only a Scoticism—'bellygods' scarcely make up for such lack of colour. He uses the words 'duty' and 'ought' freely. The profligate pursues bodily pleasure 'thinking that he ought to do so,' *οἰόμενος δεῖν*. He can scarcely think that he *ought* to commit adultery.

In two fields terms were already more

fixed in their senses than Professor Ross seems to allow—law and mathematics. *Μεταμέλεια* is hardly repentance when applied to involuntary behaviour, nor does a man ask pardon for this, though he seeks exoneration. In V. 3-5 we have both phraseologies together. In cap. 3 *ἀξία* is the sum of a man's recognized rights. 1131b 1 *ἡ τοῦ α δρου* is 'the line taken as term one,' a formula interesting alike for the history of mathematical symbols and for that of logical terminology. In 4. 3 Professor Ross translates *πρὸς τοῦ βλάψους τὴν διαφοράν κ.τ.λ.* 'looks only to the distinctive character of the injury'; but ll. 5, 6 below, taken with passages from Plato's *Laws* quoted by Professor Burnet, and specially 862b 5 'To these two things, then, the law-giver must look, the wrong and the damage,' seem decisive for the latter's view that it is the difference between these that is in question. In 1132b 19 *τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἐκούσιον* is not *i. q.* *τῶν ἀκούσιων*, but refers to breaches of contract as well as to delicts. In cap. 5 *τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός* is, at least to start with, 'the reciprocal,' sc. amount. In regard to *τὸ ἔτερον ἄκρον*, 1133b 2, Mr. Ross may be right in his *explanation*, but the point is raised by his translation 'extreme,' and his note 'party,' that the parties are not the extremes in the proportion, while 'one of two extremes' is inapplicable to the *schema*. Hence Mr. Burnet's transition—too hasty perhaps—from the elementary form of value to what Marx calls 'the total or expanded form of value.' The careless *ἡ τροφήν* above, which Mr. Ross rejects, may be a rudiment of such expansion. In 1133b 5, since D has been used of the *unequated* product, the fourth term is *nD*, B's product as we now measure it, *τὸ ισασμένον δ*, 'D multiplied to equivalence with C.'

Using Bywater's text, Professor Ross has no need to struggle with *κατ' ἀρετήν* in V. 1. 13 or *ἐν τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς* in VI. 8. 9. He exercises independence and judgment in regard to text, translating obelized passages triumphantly, e.g. 1173b 13 'if we were being operated on,' with its explanatory note, and 1144a 5; or amending conservatively, usually with MS. or editorial backing,

e.g. dropping *ἢ* in 1148b 27, and with it a fruitful source of misunderstanding as to morbidity; or repunctuating as in 1133b 9 to get 'exportation of corn in exchange for wine.' Mr. Ross uses parentheses (with Professor Burnet) to mark off 'notes,' such as that on continuous proportion in V. 3. He extends the practice with effect, and might have used it for *πλὴν πολεικῶς* (1171a 17). In 1135b 33, on the other hand, Bywater is right, for *ο ἐπιβουλεύσας κ.τ.λ.* excepts that type of provocation which is of *malice prepense*. In 1127b 12 Mr. Ross has *ὡς ἀλαζών* with one inferior MS., and there, too, probably already a correction. We were wont to be satisfied with 'as the braggart proper is not much to be blamed,' viz. the liar from sheer artistry, as in a comedy of Alarcon or Corneille. In IV. 9. 1 Mr. Ross produces an ingenious *ἀποτελεῖ τι* for *ἀποτελεῖται*.

In I. 7. 21 (on our apprehension of principles) Professor Ross translates *καὶ ἄλλαι δ' ἄλλως* 'and others too in other ways.' From his similar treatment of 1097a 20 and 1116b 5 this appears to be a considered heresy. In I. 13. 11 for 'to all nurslings' read 'to everything organic,' the reference being primarily to plants. In § 7, just above, the parallel to the general knowledge that statesmen will have of psychology, is the oculist's general knowledge of the whole body. Mr. Ross renders 'must know about the eyes *or* the body.' In III. 1. 3 'or is feeling the passion' (*ἢ ὁ πάσχων*) is wrong. In III. 3. 3 the word 'material' should not be applied to the eternal *κόσμος*. IV. 1. 29 *πλὴν ἐν μικροῖς*: the *excuse* is 'only not on the great scale.' In 1123a 5 *τὰ δὲ δῶρα* seems to mean 'his gifts.' *Παιδικὸν δῶρον*, just below, should be so translated as to admit also the sense of 'gift from a child.' In IV. 3. 31 δ' *ὑβριν* is not 'from haughtiness.' In 1137a 3 *ἐπ'* *ἐκείνῳ* means 'on that condition.' V. 11. 1 *ἄ δὲ μὴ κελεύει* = 'and cases of killing a man which it does not expressly permit,' as, e.g., with soldier and executioner, *μὴ* implying *ἀποκτιννίας* (so Burnet), with *ἄ* a loose cognate accusative to the indicated word. In VI. 8. 6 the objects of mathematics do not 'exist'

by abstraction. VII. 13. 3 καὶ τέλος means more than 'and ends.' In 1171a 14 (φίλοι πολλοί) the sense requires 'plurality of friends,' i.e. πολύφιλοι. And so forth. As against such

differences of opinion and minor corrections, a counter-list of felicitous renderings might be drawn up that would be large indeed.

HERBERT W. BLUNT.

THE MIMES OF HERONDAS.

Ἡρόνδου Μιμίαμβοι: Die Mimiamben des Herondas. Otto Crusius, *Die Mimiamben des Herondas.* Zweite Auflage, gänzlich umgearbeitet und mit griechischem Text und Abbildungen versehen von RUDOLF HERZOG. Pp. xvi + 206; 16 photogravures and 20 woodcuts. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926.

Also *Herondaea*. Same author, same publisher, 1926. Pp. 40. (Sonderdruck aus *Philologus*, Bd. LXXXII., Heft. I.)

THE first-named of these works forms the second edition of Otto Crusius' German translation (1893) of Herondas; R. Herzog has revised the translation, introduction, and notes, and has added the text of the mimes and fragments. The volume is intended not so much for scholars (though they may learn something from it) as for the wider circle of those interested in classical culture: 'der Text' (p. x) 'muss dem humanistisch gebildeten Laien lesbar vorgelegt werden, d. h. ohne kritische Zeichen für zweifelhafte Lesung, aber nicht durch fälschende Erleichterung unsicherer Textstellen.' Herzog has made use of the most recent work on the text, and acknowledges the services of Knox, Milne, Bell, and Edmonds, among others.

Herondaea is a reprint from *Philologus*, and deals more fully with certain points of importance, such as the date of Herondas, and the interpretation of Mime VIII. It should be read together with the text and translation.

The introductory chapters of *Die Mimiamben* are concerned with Heron-

das and his art; analyses of the separate Mimes, including references to other literature, ancient and modern, in which the same types reappear; his birthplace and date (born probably at Ephesus, Cos his spiritual home, *floruit* 280-260); his predecessors Hipponax and Sophron; the method of representation of the Mimes (only one actor each); the principles on which the German verse translation has been revised.

The text follows, with translation on the opposite page. There are short footnotes, and two appendices—one on the text, the other on certain passages which require further elucidation. The book is usefully illustrated with photogravures and woodcuts from Pompeian wall-paintings and terracottas.

The book is certainly convenient, and incorporates in the text a number of recent suggestions and discoveries. Yet there are strange omissions of perfectly certain and accessible readings, as Mr. Milne points out in a letter to me. Four examples are I. 85 Μη[τρίχη] τούτ[οι], II. 8 [οὐτ]ος μέτοικός ἔστι, II. 14 [γυνώσεθ] [ο]ὐφ, VII. 70 δεῦτε. There are others. H. has not seen the MS. recently, otherwise he could never have given the supplements in VIII. 67-69 (6, 11, and 5 letters supplied for the same space); and, in general, his spacing is not to be trusted. In VII. 68 εἰς Δ[ιωνύ]σον is read by him where clearly the MS. has ἐκ Δ[ιωνύ]σον. The supplements whereby H. makes a continuous story of Mime VIII. are largely fantasy. After all, this is a semi-popular edition, and should be judged as such.

J. A. NAIRN.

RHETORIC AND PUBLIC SPEAKING.

Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking.

In honor of James Albert Winans.
By Pupils and Colleagues. Pp. 299.
New York: The Century Company,
1925.

Of these essays, which form a 'Festschrift' presented to Professor James Albert Winans on completion of a quarter of a century's teaching, only one is primarily concerned with classical literature. Professor Lee Hunt's *Plato and Aristotle on Rhetoric and Rhetoricians* is a careful, interesting, and well-documented account of the two philosophers' views on rhetoric, prefaced by a discussion of the connexion between early sophistic and rhetoric (a connexion which is perhaps represented as somewhat closer than it in fact was). The professor considers, however, that popular dislike of the Sophists (which, he admits, was not universal) is attributable to the philosophical, rather than to the rhetorical, side of their teaching. (It would perhaps be truer to say that what the reactionary Athenian, typified by Aristophanes, objected to was the diffusion of higher education as such, and that rhetorician, sophist, and philosopher were in his eyes merged in a sort of composite 'intellectualist' type.) Professor Hunt supplements his general description of the Sophists with brief sketches of Prodicus, Hippias, Protagoras, and Gorgias. (It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that Gorgias 'is known as the founder of the art of prose,' though the ancients often say as much. Thrasymachus, as Suidas recognizes, had an important share in the business. And it is surely misleading to state, without qualification, that Gorgias used the 'grand' style.)

Professor Hunt now proceeds 'to discuss Plato's treatment of rhetoric and rhetoricians under four heads: the

pictures he has given us of the individual rhetoricians, his general indictment of rhetoric in Athens, his suggestions for the creation of a nobler and better rhetoric, and his later attack upon the eristical rhetoricians who imitated the argumentative methods of Socrates.' After an examination of the views expressed in the *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, *Euthydemus*, and other dialogues, Plato's attitude is summed up by the observation: 'Plato never viewed rhetoric abstractly, as an art of composition, as an instrument that might be used or abused; he always considered it a false impulse in human thought.'

Aristotle, Professor Hunt points out, treats rhetoric from a different standpoint. His *Rhetoric* 'is neither a manual of rules nor a collection of injunctions. It is an unmoral and scientific analysis of the means of persuasion.' Moreover, while admitting that the art may be abused, Aristotle holds that it is in the main beneficial, because it assists the natural tendency of the good to prevail over the bad. In general, in his treatment of the subject, he agrees with the rhetoricians, as against Plato.

In 'The Rhythm of Oratorical Prose' Professor Parrish is somewhat sceptical of the value of scientific analysis. In dealing with classical prose rhythm, he seems not to distinguish sharply enough between 'pervading' rhythm and clausula rhythm: a distinction which considerably mitigates the 'very plain contradiction' noted on p. 221. He underestimates the importance of recent analysis of the clausula, understood in the light of the medieval cursus, and he gives us no hint of the palpable difference in rhythmic character between two such authors as Plato and Demosthenes.

J. D. DENNISTON.

PAPERS BY DR. MACKAIL.

Classical Studies. By J. W. MACKAIL.

John Murray, 1925. 7s. 6d.

This book will carry many of its readers not only to Greece and Rome, but to places as far removed from them as the Examination Schools at Oxford and the

University buildings at Leeds, and revive in their memory the very tones in which the eloquent sentences of these reprinted papers were delivered. It is typical of the peculiar genius of British scholarship. In scholarship the Ger-

mans are the supreme professionals, though the German type is not unknown or unsuccessful in these islands—the efficient thoroughness of the machine with something of the machine's lack of sensitiveness and spontaneity. The Englishman remains in scholarship as elsewhere an amateur, with the amateur's merits and defects.

The essays included in this book fall into two groups. Some deal with classical subjects, the rest with the problem of classical studies. In the first group three essays are specially attractive. 'Virgil's Italy' will reveal to many aspects of the poet which are essential to understanding and fully enjoying him. Every teacher of Latin should read it along with Dr. Mackail's volume on Virgil in Harrap's series 'Our debt to Greece and Rome.' 'The Last Great Roman Historian,' perhaps the best essay in the book, deals admirably with a great and little known figure. 'The Odes of Horace' handles tenderly a fragile idol. (What could be happier or truer than a judgment like this? 'We have in Horace's poetry a pattern, small, concentrated and incredibly clear, like the reflection in a convex mirror, of such a life as all people can live, a life within reach of the workman at his bench or the clerk at his desk.') There comes an age when we should remember *Insurgit aliquando* and *furchtbare Realität*; but in general it is undoubtedly better that we should see Horace as Dr. Mackail sees him.

The second group of essays discuss from different points of view the place of the Classics in education and in life. It is probably impossible to say anything very new on these subjects; it would be difficult to state the main propositions and arguments of the classical position with more justice, felicity, and moderation; and two essays, 'The Place of the Classics in Imperial Studies' and 'Patriotism,' touch on less worn themes. Of suggestions for strengthening the position of Classics in British education there are few. Dr. Mackail has severe words for the study of the Classics in translations, and to some will seem to do less than justice to this method of propaganda. For, after all, many boys and girls in our schools are not going to

learn to read Latin with much fluency. To the vast majority Greek will remain unknown. Is it well to leave the vast majority without any contact with Greek literature? Will that profit the cause of the Classics? Is it better for the individual to know nothing of Homer or Plato or Aristotle than to know them in translation? This dilemma is one-half of the problem set to-day to believers in Latin and Greek. But Dr. Mackail does not consider it. A long experience of a Government Office no doubt sobers one's views as to the possible results of human—at any rate of official or collective—effort. Dr. Mackail approves most of the recommendations of the Prime Minister's Committee on the Classics. He emphasises the importance of establishing Latin as 'an integral subject in the curricula of Secondary Schools and in University Arts Courses,' and thinks that if at the same time an adequate knowledge of Greek were required in all teachers of Latin, 'the naturalisation of the Classics in education would be secured.' He wishes to commence Greek with Homer, and records the experience of a London Secondary School, where a few years ago no Greek was taught at all, and where to-day Greek beginners in their second term are reading Homer at the rate of 300 lines a fortnight. He stresses the importance of improved methods of teaching. The latter is a real key to the situation. It would be a great thing if the Classical Association, which once reformed the pronunciation of Latin, would effectively take the matter in hand. They might, for instance, imitate the admirable activities of the Historical Association and publish something analogous to its pamphlet on teaching history. They might see that it reached the teachers. For much excellent advice is given which never gets far beyond the giver; and though there are excellent books on classical teaching from the Board of Education report on 'The Teaching of the Classics in the Secondary Schools of Germany' down to Mr. L. W. Lewis' *Practical Hints on the Teaching of Latin*, it is depressing to find how few teachers have ever heard of them.

R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

THE CLASSICS IN GERMANY.

Die Stelle des Römertums in der humanistischen Bildung. Von EDUARD FRAENKEL. Pp. 45. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. M. 1.50.

HERE we have an earnest address from a great German scholar on a matter of grave importance to his countrymen. At the back of it is much the same conviction as was evident in an address of Dr. R. Heinze noticed in a recent number of this *Review*. But this paper is argumentative rather than descriptive, and deals with defects in the teaching system of the present *Gymnasia* and suggestions of improved method. Both writers fear that these schools are declining in vigour and popularity: both are convinced that Germany has no little to draw from Rome in the way of inspiration. But to Dr. Fraenkel the Classical teaching in the schools as now practised is dull, uninspiring, unpractical from his point of view. The Latin side in particular suffers from a blind adherence to traditional methods, and needs a different handling if it is not to fail from the sheer weariness of the pupils. The improved method outlined by the speaker would probably do something to relieve and stimulate the taught. But it is significant that its introduction and success is admitted to depend on *die Frage der Lehrervorbildung*. When one considers the high gifts and large reading that would be needed to equip the up-to-date teacher, it is not easy to suppress a doubt whether these qualities can be secured for the cause under present economic conditions.

In English schools, too, the Classical teaching might be made far more interesting if the able and devoted staff were more ripe; that is, if they had themselves read more widely, and could speak with more confidence, using their own knowledge freely from a full store. To travel beyond the text-books is hard for a young master fresh from the University. To give a living picture of Roman spirit and Roman greatness, in short to create a Roman atmosphere, as Dr. Fraenkel would like done, is desirable. But I suggest that it will need teachers not too young, not overworked,

not ill-paid. The thing is worth doing, if education is not to slip into the narrow grooves of technical schools. It is sincerely to be hoped that no such disaster will befall so great a people as the Germans.

That the Roman atmosphere most likely to be wholesome in its influence on German youth is that of early Rome in the course of its vigorous expansion, the speaker admits. Also that to recapture this, or some part of it, is a task exposed to difficulty and risk, since no contemporary literature has come down to us. To draw back-inferences from utterances of later dates is hardly sufficient. That there was a sound old *Römertum*, an aggregate of great qualities, is true enough: to view it in right perspective is not easy. It lacks the youthful buoyancy of Greek tradition: as we have it, it is old and slow. But the pathos of Rome's great disasters is deep, and Roman character as depicted in the legends, solid and stubborn, makes an impression not to be ignored. The sober feeling for order, the subordination of the free citizen to the calls of the State, the *Bürgersinn* on which Roman institutions rested, all may furnish lessons suited to fortify the moral strength of young Germans. But Fraenkel is well aware that mere copying of *Römertum* is not desirable. So wise guidance will be needed if this crusade is to produce good results, and patient effort also. Let me echo the speaker's closing words—*quod di bene vortant!*

His severe remarks on the traditional devotion to *Stilistik*, now dying out, and on the overdone attention to *Grammatik*, seem to indicate that certain difficulties felt in English Classical schools are beginning to be felt in Germany. The *Mangel der Idee*, in which he finds the special difficulty of using Latin literature for the education of boys, is a stumbling-block to this earnest reformer. I may be betraying my ignorance, but it is my impression that German writers and editors as a rule treat the Classics with more thoroughness than sympathy. I notice that in suggesting a modern interpreter of ancient life and feeling

he generously commends the work of Gaston Boissier. But Boissier deals with times later than that early period, the inspiration of which Fraenkel wishes to catch and turn to account. I know

of no such truly artistic work dealing with Fabrius and the rest of the old Roman heroes. Is there any creation of 'atmosphere' existing at all worthy to be classed with Macaulay's *Lays*?

W. E. HEITLAND.

VIRGILE: ÉNÉIDE.

Virgile: Énéide, Livres I.-VI. Texte établi par HENRI GOELZER et traduit par ANDRÉ BELLESSORT. Pp. xxxii + 198. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926. 18 francs.

THE *Bucoliques*, published last year by MM. Goelzer and Bellessort under the auspices of the Association Guillaume Budé as Vol. I. of a complete edition of Virgil, is now followed by Vol. III. It is wholly excellent; it will be welcomed, and should be widely used, by English students of the classics. A brief account of its plan and scope may be given here as a guide.

It contains the text, with a sufficient and, so far as I have tested it, a very accurate *apparatus criticus*; a prose translation printed opposite, which holds a happy mean between literal rendering and elucidating paraphrase, and to which are appended a limited number of notes, either explanatory of allusions, or in some instances conveying aesthetic judgments and literary parallels; and some thirty pages of introduction, of which it would be hard to speak in terms of too high praise. The value of the *apparatus criticus* is much enhanced by references throughout to Havet's *Manuel de Critique verbale*. It is a pleasure to quote what M. Goelzer says of that invaluable book: 'Peut-être remarquera-t-on que nous l'avons cité bien souvent; mais nous ne songeons pas à nous en excuser; nous avons mieux aimé pécher par excès que par défaut, et, si nous avons renvoyé maintes fois le lecteur aux remarques critiques du maître, c'est que nous avons voulu non seulement en faire apprécier la rare qualité, mais surtout donner aux non-initiés l'occasion de se familiariser avec une méthode où s'allie si heureusement une rigueur en quelque sorte géométrique à l'intuition du psychologue.'

The Introduction falls into two parts: (1) 'Objet et Originalité du Poème,' by

M. Bellessort; (2) 'La Tradition manuscrite,' by M. Goelzer. The latter is a brief recapitulation of the facts, so far as they relate to the *Aeneid*, already more fully set forth in the General Introduction prefixed to Vol. I. of this edition. In the former, M. Bellessort has given in some twenty pages a just, well-proportioned, and wonderfully complete view of the object, the contents, and the spirit of the *Aeneid*. His study of the character of Aeneas as presented in the poem is perhaps as good as has ever been made—certainly the best that has been made in so short a compass. No less excellent are his appreciations of Virgil's Dido, 'la première femme amoureuse de la littérature antique dont nous sachions pourquoi elle a aimé'; of Virgil's religion; of his feeling for and comprehension of the antiquities of his own world; and of that *somptuosité lumineuse* in which he stands unequalled among the classical writers, and is only paralleled by the great painters of the Venetian school. (By an odd slip the 'évocation des peuples italiens' is assigned (p. ix) to the eighth and not to the seventh book.)

With M. Goelzer's general conclusion that M., P., and R., 'complétés et contrôlés l'un par l'autre, permettent d'arriver à une approximation suffisante,' few reasonable critics will disagree. The editors are fully on their guard against the perils of conjecture. 'La plupart du temps et même trop souvent des conjectures ne sont proposées que parce qu'on ne s'est pas donné assez de peine pour essayer de comprendre le texte'; and the note 'damnat temere . . .,' of not infrequent occurrence in the *apparatus criticus*, is often all that need be said. Conservatism can of course be carried too far even with Virgil. No mention is made here of Professor Slater's attractive and all but convincing *micuit* in V. 505; and

on the lines a little earlier in the same passage, V. 487-9, there is no note, though something does seem to have gone wrong, as the translation offered of the MS. *volucrem columbam*, 'une colombe qui bat les ailes,' is sufficient to show. It may be suspected that what Virgil wrote was *volucre in traecto fune columbam quo tendant ferrum*. In the well-known crux of VI. 585-91 M. Goelzer accepts and prints the rearrangement of Cartault, transposing ll. 586 and 587; and in the still greater one of the passage following VI. 600 adopts the more hazardous reconstitution of Havet, which inserts 616-620 between 601 and 602. This conjecture does not involve the generally presumed loss of a line there, but it has little else to commend it. Nor, if we are prepared to accept Madvig's brilliant suggestion of *Pirithoumque et* as the ending of l. 601, is any suggestion of a lost line required. That the whole passage lacks Virgil's *ultima manus* may in any case be allowed.

Attention may be called to a few other passages in which the textual problem is of special interest. M. Goelzer not only retains I. 109 in his text, which is proper enough, but defends it by the argument, to me unintelligible, that it is required to make sense of the words which follow. In I. 343 he boldly prints Ribbeck's *ditissimus auri*; but in X. 645 Kvičala's equally plausible *ipse manens* (for the *ipse manu* of MPV and

the uniform tradition) is only mentioned, though his repunctuation of III. 253-4 is adopted. III. 685 is not cut definitely out, but is printed in smaller type between brackets; it has complete traditional support, and it is very doubtful whether its excision mends matters much. IV. 126, where the case for bracketing, if not for cutting out, is much stronger, is on the other hand retained. In V. 326 Bentley's *ambiguomve relinquat* is accepted, as it has been by the majority of editors since Bentley; here the MSS. *ambiguomque* seems to me not only to be defensible, but actually to give a better sense. In VI. 186 the *sic forte precatur* of MP (*sic voce* in R) is printed, and *forte* rightly explained as meaning 'instinctively'; and in VI. 539 Reinach's conjecture of *fando*, for the *fendo* of the uniform MSS. tradition, here including FMPR, is with some touch of 'temerity' received into the text. Three passages in this book, l. 242, the second half of l. 265, and the line and a half following *Fas obstat tristisque palus* of l. 438, are bracketed and printed in small type. The first of the three excisions is generally accepted; as regards the other two, one is rather inclined to say of M. Goelzer, as he does elsewhere of previous editors, *temere damnat*. But there will always be debateable points in a work so interesting and valuable as his work is throughout.

J. W. MACKAIL.

HOUSMAN'S LUCAN.

M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis libri decem: editorum in usum edidit A. E. HOUSMAN. Pp. xxxvi + 342. Royal 8vo. Oxonii apud Basilium Blackwell, 1926. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is another of Mr. Housman's editions *editorum in usum*—whatever that may mean. In conception and in execution it bears a considerable resemblance to its distinguished predecessors. The introduction contains another instalment of his Dunciad and fresh cries wrung from a lonely soul compelled to drag out a weary existence in an age of dullards. There are many comments in his best vein on the textual problem

and a few in his worst vein on recent editors. Then follows the text, with an *apparatus* culled, except in two or three places, from Hosius, but vastly enriched by discussions of variant readings. Even where there is no textual question the editor frequently supplies an explanatory note or directs the reader to some commentary which, in his opinion, gives the correct interpretation. At the end there is a valuable appendix on astronomical matters. The book will not take high rank as a monument of national or international comity, but as a contribution, at once learned and penetrating, to the criticism of a Latin poet it is in the

great tradition, in the line of Scaliger and Bentley, Lachmann and Munro.

In the introduction the most important codices are subjected to a rigorous examination, which shows enormous industry as well as the clearness of vision which one expects to find in Mr. Housman. He argues powerfully to show that, while Z and M are descendants of the same original from I. 483 to IX. 85, in the remaining parts of the poem M, not Z, deserts the archetype. The MS. from which M was copied had suffered mutilation at the beginning and the end, and two different MSS., one not unlike U, the other akin to P, had been used in supplying the missing parts. M is Hosius' *codex optimus*, which he follows all too faithfully. As a matter of fact there is no 'best manuscript' worthy of such respect. Some are, indeed, better than others, but there is no pure tradition; fusion and admixture have been so rife that no division into families, or even classes, is possible. As for the ghost of Paulus (or Papulus), it has been well and truly laid in this edition. After reading Mr. Housman's terrific indictment of human credulity, the present reviewer is only too thankful to be able to call this journal to witness that he scorned the Pauline apparition even in the days of his callow youth.

For years past the Teubner edition has been almost universally used. Its *apparatus criticus* is still the fullest that we possess, but the text has become antiquated, now that we have Mr. Housman's. The superiority of the new text in the matter of readings is, to put it mildly, very considerable, but the improvement in the punctuation is no less important. It has long been recognised that in this respect Hosius' recension leaves a great deal to be desired, being frequently inferior to much older editions. Mr. Housman has now set things right, sometimes following previous editors and sometimes introducing innovations with splendid effect. One may differ from him somewhat in one's theory of punctuation, especially as regards commas before or after interrogative clauses, defining relative clauses, or clauses of comparison; but with the obvious meaning of his punctuation one rarely has cause to quarrel. Of the cases

where I am inclined to adopt a different stopping there are not many where I feel quite sure that he is mistaken. One of these occurs in the closing passage of Bk. VIII. Mr. Housman prints vv. 860 ff. thus: *nunc est pro numine summo | hoc tumulo Fortuna iacens*. He quotes the explanation of Grotius: 'Fortuna quodam modo cum ipso Pompeio sepulta, cui semper adfuerat.' This is certainly wrong. *Fortuna* is vocative, and should be enclosed between commas. It is not Fortune, but Pompey, who is now *pro numine summo*. Mr. Housman says that such a statement about Pompey 'nimis apertum esset mendacium.' *Mendacium* or not, it is not too glaring for Lucan in his present frame of mind; on the contrary, it is what Lucan clearly says. The words which follow make the meaning quite plain. That lowly wave-beaten tomb, the poet declares, is more venerable than the altars raised to the deified Caesar (*aris uictoris*). Surely, then, it is the dead Caesar and the dead Pompey who are contrasted, not Caesar and Fortune. The next two lines explain the meaning further, and should be preceded by a colon: *Tarpeis qui saepe deis sua tura negarunt | inclusum Tusco uenerantur caespite fulmen*. *Tarpeis* is emphatic: even the Capitoline gods (far greater than *diuus Iulius*) often receive less veneration than the *numen* of a spot struck by lightning (cf. I. 608, in reference to the consecration of such a spot, *datque locis numen*). In other words, the *numen* of such a spot is *pro numine summo* to many; and so it is with Pompey in his Egyptian tomb. In *Class. Quart.* 1914, pp. 109 ff., I have tried to show that the sentence *nunc est . . . iacens*, with its gibe directed at Fortune, is a climax to which vv. 713 f. and 793-5 lead up. Mr. Housman's quotations do nothing to upset this view and little to support his own. Of course the passage is gross hyperbole, and the final lines of the book (865-872), though not without some poetical feeling, do not err on the side of reasonableness, or even of clearness, whatever view we may take of the general sense. But heaven help Lucan if we are to prune his extravagant utterances, or even his *aperta mendacia*, about Pompey!

In the second paragraph of his intro-

duction Mr. Housman pours out the vials of his wrath upon modern editors who have ruined the famous lines I. 8-12 by wrong punctuation. His enthusiasm leads him into some exaggeration, but he is undoubtedly right in saying that *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri* should be punctuated as a question. He might have supported his statement by quoting one or two examples which clearly show the interrogative force of *qui(s) tantus*, e.g. Val. Fl. VII. 529: *quis fragor hic? quaenam tantae, dic virgo, ruinae?* I agree with him that the whole passage consists of two questions, but I wish he had given his reasons for putting the first note of interrogation after *ferri* (v. 8) instead of carrying on the question to the end of the next line, as seems a good deal more natural. Whatever he may say about exclamations, he is scarcely likely to maintain that two questions of different structure may not be connected by *-que*. His note does nothing to defend his preference beyond quoting examples to show that the combination of an active with a passive infinitive, which his punctuation introduces, is not unknown to Lucan. The lines immediately following this passage show another departure from the ordinary punctuation. Mr. Housman, following Weise, treats vv. 13-18 as one long exclamation, and separates them from v. 19. Most of the sixteenth-century editors seem to have taken the passage in this way, which may well be right.

There are many differences of reading between Mr. Housman's edition and the Teubner text. If we exclude trifling variations in the order of words or in tenses of verbs (e.g. *effundit* and *effudit*, where either will do) as well as orthographical variations (in which, for the present purpose, I include some differences which are not merely orthographical, e.g. *tum* frequently substituted for *tunc*, beloved of Hosius), there are, according to my counting, over 260 divergences. In my humble judgment Mr. Housman is certainly or very probably superior in about 150 of these cases, while Hosius certainly or probably has the better of the argument in a dozen, at the most. The other cases must be ranked as doubtful, but many

of them are of small consequence, and in several, as I suppose Mr. Housman would admit, certainty is not to be looked for. There must also be some cases where neither editor is right; but after making all allowances and deductions, it is obvious that Mr. Housman's text is a great achievement, for which all students of Lucan must be grateful. Most of his improvements are effected by a judicious choice of MS. readings. It is good to have a text which gives in II. 61 *urbi, ib. 126 Vestae, III. 160 regi, ib. 575 conferta, IV. 821 ensis, VI. 293 Henneais, ib. 532 letum, VII. 363 comprehensum, IX. 141 auidaeque, ib. 338 impactis breuius*, and many other excellent choices. As regards emendations, some forty which are not in Hosius' text appear in this edition. Of these the editor claims one-half; some of these (e.g. *sed sponte* I. 234, *fuga Gallus* III. 159) had already been published. In II. 554 the reading *ut simili causa caderes, quo Spartacus, hosti* (MSS. *quod* and *qua, hostis* and *hosti*) carries conviction; but although the spelling *quo* in a MS. caused the corruption, we need not suppose that Lucan used it in this one place. Similarly in v. 541, where the variants *cum* and *quod* induce Mr. Housman to write *quon*, it might be better to assume that Lucan wrote *cum* as elsewhere. *Satis his* for *fatis* in I. 227 is well defended in the note, and grows upon one; it may also be suggested that *fatus* in the next line may have contributed to the corruption. *Rex tolletque* for *extolletque* in VIII. 345 and *nunc . . . nunc* for *non . . . nec* in IX. 1048 f. are ingenious and plausible, as are several of the other conjectures. Mr. Housman has nowhere attempted emendation without at least some justification and seldom without necessity. It will perhaps surprise him to learn that at least one of his contemporaries considers that he has erred, if at all, on the side of 'conservatism.' Of the emendations of other scholars which are adopted eight—all good—are Bentley's. I am not disposed to quarrel very seriously with any of the others, though I do not feel that it is necessary to read *exutae* for *exhaustae* in III. 132, *pacis ad exhaustae spolium non cogit egestas*. Weise's description of *exhaustae* as 'past for

'future' is justly ridiculed, but the word might be used proleptically; Lucan uses the gen. of the perf. part. in this way in other places. But it is not necessary to assume prolepsis. Mr. Housman seems to imply that *exhaustae* could mean nothing but 'drained of all its wealth.' Surely this is not the case. The reference is rather to the events preceding the outbreak of war, and especially to Caesar's demands and the consequent negotiations, which had made a constant and increasing drain (in common English 'tax') upon peace, until at last it was totally exhausted: *exhaustae, sc. a te.*

A few of Mr. Housman's conjectures are more ingenious than probable. In one case he saddles Lucan with words which can scarcely be called Latin at all. In IV. 718 f. Juba takes careful measures to conceal his approach from Curio: *obscurataque suam per iussa silentia famam | hoc solum metuens incauto ab hoste, timeri* (v.l. *uideri*). Mr. Housman rightly prefers *timeri* to *uideri*. To mend the metre he puts *incauto* immediately after *solum* and changes *metuens* to *metuentis*, thus: *hoc solum incauto metuentis ab hoste, timeri.* For the gen. of the participle in apposition to the gen. implied in *suam* he compares Ov. *Trist.* II. 89 f., *uitamque meam moresque probabas | illo, quem dederas, praetereuntis equo.* But this idiom is not correctly used when the possessive refers to the subject of the sentence or clause. If Ovid had written *uitam meam probabam* he would have had to write *praeteriens*; similarly in Hor. *Sat.* I. 4. 23 f., *cum mea nemo | scripta legat, recitare timentis,* if *mea* had been *sua*, *timentis* would have been *timens*. The rule is regularly observed even when the gen. is an adjective, not a participle (expressions like *sua unius*, or *ipsius, opera* do not, of course, enter into the question). Any-one who doubts the validity of the principle may be advised to read through the works of Lucifer of Cagliari, with whom the idiom under consideration is an obsession (though even he scarcely ever uses it with a participle). Less ambitious enquirers, and those who are suspicious of late authors, may be satisfied with the citations in Kühner-Stegmann II. § 67. 4, or with the relevant

quotations in Heinsius' note on Ov. *Her.* V. 45. It is scarcely necessary to add that, if the facts are as stated, the gen. of the participle in apposition to *sus* must necessarily be an extreme rarity. I do not know of any exceptions to the rule enunciated above; in any case we must not gratuitously foist one on Lucan.

On VII. 387-9 Mr. Housman makes a brilliant suggestion, which one is reluctant to call a brilliant failure. The battle of Pharsalia is beginning, and the poet, picturing to himself the attacking hosts, is led to meditate thus, according to the MSS.: *hae (v. ll. haec, ne) facient dextrae quidquid non expletat (explicat C) aetas | ulla, nec humanum reparet genus omnibus annis, | ut uacet a ferro.* *Expletat* would seem to require something like *rapient* instead of *facient*, and *quidquid* is very strange. Mr. Housman strikes out v. 388 and reads in the previous line *nona explicat*, translating thus (Intr. p. xxiv): 'these hands will bring it to pass that, whatever the ninth century unfolds, it shall be free from warfare' (*i.e.* because of the loss of life and the consequent diminishing of the future population). Claudius had inaugurated the ninth *saculum* in A.D. 47. Mr. Housman refers us to Iuu. XIII. 28; he seems now to have more confidence in the reading *nona aetas* there than he had in 1905, when Juvenal appeared *editorum in usum*. The sole authority for *explicat* is the lemma of the Bernese scholion; the scholion itself implies *expletat*. But the really serious objections to Mr. Housman's solution are (1) that it expels a perfectly good line, and one excellently attested in the tradition of the text, (2) that the resultant sense is not good. Lucan, transporting himself in imagination to the battlefield and surveying the troops, is made to say 'these right hands are destined to cause the ninth century to be free from war.' But Lucan knew quite well that up to the time of his writing the ninth century had been full of war. A prophecy after the event ought at least to be accurate.¹

¹ The pres. ind. *explicat* is scarcely consistent with Mr. Housman's translation—unless his view is that Lucan is foretelling (say in A.D. 63) what is going to happen in the remain-

VII. 675-7 (one of Pompey's reasons for fleeing, instead of meeting his death at Pharsalia) : *sed tu quoque, coniunx, | causa fugae uoltusque tui fatisque negatum | te praesente mori.* As Pompey was killed before Cornelia's eyes, Mr. Housman naturally refuses to accept *te praesente*. He reads *parte apsente*, taking *parte* to mean 'mate,' or 'better half.' But one badly wants an epithet or something else to elucidate *parte*. It is difficult to believe that any writer who wished to be understood could have written thus. It is perhaps unfortunate that the present reviewer came to the passage fresh from a re-reading of Prudentius, *Peristeph.* Certainly those ancient martyrs who were deprived of tongue or limb before being finally despatched might be said *parte apsente mori.* In any case neither Mr. Housman's nor any other conjecture gets rid of the double meaning of *causa*, which refers first to the motives in Pompey's mind and then to the decree of fate. Theoretically there is nothing impossible, or even astonishing, in this, but every careful reader must feel that, somehow, it spoils the passage with a discordant note. I cannot help thinking that a line has dropped out after *negatum.* I have thought of one which, while allowing us to retain *te praesente*, gives a possible meaning and supplies a cause for the omission; but I hope that Mr. Housman will favour us with a much better one.

I must deal very briefly with IX. 590-3 (Cato in the desert). Hosius reads : *somni parcissimus ipse est, | ultimus haustor aquae. cum tandem fonte reperto | indiga cogatur laticis certare iuuentus, | stat, dum lixa bibat.* But *cogatur certare* will not do. Most MSS. read *potare*, G *portare*; Z has *conatur* for *cogatur*. Mr. Housman puts a semi-colon after *est*, deletes the punctuation after *aquae*, and reads *quam* for *cum*, and *cogatur . . . spectare.* The explanation in his note does not seem to fit his text, and neither that interpretation nor the meaning which I have, with some difficulty, extracted from his reading

ing part of the century. This interpretation gives a feeble meaning at the expense of an intolerable strain on the language.

seems to justify the rather arbitrary changes. His calm statement, without so much as a *fortasse*, that both *certare* and *portare* go back to an original *pectare*, takes one's breath away. At first sight *certare* would appear to represent the original reading, and *potare* to be an alteration; but such appearances are sometimes deceitful. I have suggested elsewhere that the variants *cogatur* and *conatur* may go back to an original *cunctatur*; if that be so, Lucan wrote *cunctatur . . . potare* (which gives excellent sense), and *certare* is an 'emendation' made to suit the corruption *cogatur*. With the reading just mentioned one might adopt the punctuation of Hosius (except that a colon after *aquae* would be preferable), but one might also put a stronger stop (as Mr. Housman does) after *est* and a comma after *aquae*.

Everyone knows how faithfully Mr. Housman is wont to deal with those editors, mostly of foreign nationality, whose favourite sport consists in construing through a stone wall. With delightfully human inconsistency, he has now taken a hand in the game himself. In VIII. 155 f. Lucan tells us how sorry the Mityleneans were to part with Cornelia : *quod summissa animis, nulli grauis hospita turbae, stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.* Thus Mr. Housman prints the lines, following the MSS., except that *animis* (which he attributes to Heinsius) is rightly read for *nimis*. He takes *turbae* as gen. depending on, not dat. agreeing with, *nulli* ('none of the population'), quoting one passage which illustrates the meaning of *turba* and another which does not seem to illustrate anything. It is simpler to take *nulli* as agreeing with *turbae* and as equivalent to *omnino non*, a usage which Lucan employs freely and even somewhat boldly : 'in no wise burdensome to those around her.' *Turba* is a troublesome word; it may mean 'population'; it may also be applied to a great person's *entourage*, or to one's circle of friends and acquaintances. This, however, is a comparatively trifling point; the crucial difficulty is in the next line. Mr. Housman's note on v. 158 is as follows : 'coniuge ἀπὸ κονοῦ : uide 316 sacerum quaeque

ad Man. IV. 726 adnotaui. sic uixit stantis adhuc fati Pompeio (cum Pompeius stantis fati esset) quasi uicto eo : recte Cortius.' But neither Mr. Housman nor Cortius produces a shred of evidence to support the amazing assertion that *stantis fati Pompeio* could mean *cum Pompeius stantis fati esset*. The passages to which Mr. Housman refers show merely that *Pompeio* (or rather *coniuge*) might be supplied, or 'understood,' in the first half of the line, and the citations of Cortius carry the matter a short stage further by showing that *stantis fati coniuge* might mean *coniuge*, *cum stantis fati esset*. But this is very different from *cum coniunx . . . esset*; it leaves *coniuge* in the air, and we are no better off than before. There is no doubt that the passage as it stands is unsound. The fact may well be that *coniunx* (or *coniuix*) has dropped out between *adhuc* and *uixit*, and *fati* is a subsequent stop-gap, so that we ought to read: *stantis adhuc coniunx uixit quasi coniuge uicto*. *Adhuc*, of course, goes with both *stantis* and *coniunx*, but an adequate English rendering would be, 'while still the wife of an unfallen husband she lived as if her husband were vanquished.' The double use of *coniunx*, once masc. and once fem., is a turn found in Ovid (*Met.* VII. 589) and later literature, and also in inscriptions. *Stare* is often used of persons whose power or fortune still stands firm. There are plentiful examples in Cicero; Ovid twice denotes the period before his banishment by *dum stetimus*; and Lucan (e.g., VIII 233) and others are no strangers to the use. In several instances the meaning is made clearer by an antithesis, as here by *uicto*.

In III. 149 Mr. Housman adopts a very slenderly supported reading which bears all the marks of corruption and which, if it gives any respectable sense at all, does so in such an obscure way that very few besides Mr. Housman are likely to detect it. The line occurs toward the end of the passage where Metellus tries to prevent Caesar from appropriating the treasury of Saturn. Cotta compels the bold tribune to desist, telling him that opposition to Caesar is useless (147 ff.): *tot rebus iniquis | parvus uicti; uenia est haec sola pudoris |*

degenerisque metus, nil iam potuisse negari. I give the reading of most MSS.; M and Z read *non iam*; the *adnotationes*, while mentioning the variant *nil iam*, comment on *nullam*; the first of the Bernese scholia favours *nil iam*. Mr. Housman, who reads *nullam*, follows the *adnotatio* in explaining it as *nullam ex tot rebus iniquis* (vid. v. 147). What he believes *nullam ex tot rebus iniquis potuisse negari* to mean, I confess I cannot tell. If *negari* be taken as meaning *denegari*, the words seem to have no sense; if we take it as *dici non esse*, we can get some meaning, but a very poor one (with *posse* in place of *potuisse* it would have been more tolerable). But what is wrong with *nil iam*? Mr. Housman's only indictment is that 'progressus significatio aliena est.' I suppose he means that the notion of 'progression' is inherent in *iam*. Accepting this doctrine for the sake of argument, one need only remark that if *tot rebus iniquis* means what it says, then objection to *iam* is futile. *Nil iam* will do quite well. There is great emphasis on *nil*. The excuse suggested is: 'matters have come to such a pass (*iam*) that *nothing whatever* could have been denied to Caesar.' If he had demanded not merely the treasury of Saturn but all treasures, public and private, with the ancilia and the palladium thrown in, it would have been idle to refuse him; he has power to take whatever he desires.

In VI. 237 the reading preferred by Mr. Housman shows suspicious signs of being an ancient slip of the pen or a tame 'emendation.' The passage deals with the famous resistance of the centurion Scaeva to the Pompeians. With an eye torn out he becomes more furious still, but he decides to conceal his rage. As he stands there with blood streaming down his face, his foes rejoice. But this joy is short-lived. Assuming an utterly cowed and unmanned appearance, he pretends to give in. The ruse is successful. Aulus thinks he has an easy prey, *nec uidit recto gladium mucrone trementem*; no sooner has he got within reach than *fulmineum mediis exceptit faucibus ensem*. Mr. Housman follows II and G in reading *tenentem*; most MSS. read *trementem*, which I believe to be right. The em-

phasis, as often in Lucan, is in a somewhat unexpected place; *tremen tem* is the *μέν*-part, *recto mucrone* the *δέ*-part. Aulus did not notice that although the sword trembled the point was levelled, ready to attack. Scaeva's shakiness was, of course, assumed. The notion of the trembling sword seems 'inept' to Mr. Housman. It certainly would not seem so to Lucan.

In VIII. 769 f. the soldier who has cremated Pompey looks forward to bringing back the ashes to Cornelia, and apostrophises the dead leader thus: *te Cornelia, Magne, | accipiet nostra que manu transfundet in urnam.* Mr. Housman, unlike most people, finds no difficulty here; *nostra manu*, he says, means 'from my hand,' and is quite properly used with *transfundet*. But a careful examination of the passages where *transfundere* is used in a literal sense seems to show that this explanation is not only impossible but grotesque. *Transfundere* means to pour from a container into or (more rarely) on to something else. The soldier might *transfundere* from his own hand, and Cornelia might *transfundere* from his knapsack or box or jar, but the only way in which Cornelia could *transfundere* from the soldier's hand would be by grasping and tilting it. It is useless to talk of a 'pregnant' construction or poetic license; Lucan would not use the words in the sense of 'will pour your ashes, taking them from my hand,' because he would be conscious of the ridiculous literal meaning of them—a meaning ridiculous enough if we had had *cineres tuos*, but doubly ridiculous with *te*. There can be little doubt that Burman's *notaque* is right. It is full of meaning, and the meaning is the right one, as has been shown more than once, most fully, perhaps, in *Class. Quart.* 1916, p. 105.

There are several passages in Lucan which have baffled all attempts at emendation. Some of these are very annoying, because they look, somehow, as if emendation would be easy. Probably every serious student of the poet has spent many an hour over VII. 43 f. Mr. Housman gives it up, contenting himself with a half-serious suggestion in his note. VI. 18, where the text says the opposite of what it means, is almost

more vexatious and more hopeless. Another passage of which Mr. Housman, like his predecessors, has little hope is VII. 735 (Caesar after Pharsalia orders his men to advance and plunder the Pompeian camp): *haud ueritus graue ne fessis aut Marte subactis | hoc foret imperium.* *Marte subactis* should mean 'overcome in battle,' as in v. 613; it cannot mean *Marte fatigatis*, and even if it could, *fessis aut fatigatis* would be curiously inane. Many are inclined to think that *subactis* has crept in from v. 613 and ousted the genuine word. It has been suggested that Lucan wrote *a Marte peracto*. Mr. Housman suggests *a Marte sibi actis*, but that is only his little joke. A very simple emendation, which does not seem impossible, would be *fessis, tot Marte subactis*, 'tired after overcoming so great a host in battle.'

In VIII. 562 ff. the treacherous Egyptians put off from the shore to meet Pompey: *quem contra non longa uecta carina | appulerat sclerata manus.* Mr. Housman endorses Bentley's objections that *appulerat* is a nautical term wrongly used, and that the tense is inappropriate; but he does not suggest any emendation. It seems not unlikely that Lucan wrote *appellat* ('hails'), which suits the context very well, and which may have been altered by a land-lubber with a rather hazy notion of nautical phraseology.

X. 473 defies emendation, and Mr. Housman rightly subscribes to the view that a line has been lost between 472 and 473. He assumes omissions in some other places, and composes lines to fill the *lacunae*. In this part of his work he shows, as usual, great ingenuity. He will not, of course, expect everyone to agree with him in every case; for example, I like his suggestion of a missing line after II. 703, but I feel very doubtful about V. 535, which he divides between two lines, completing the metre with *inportunamque fereris | pauperiem deflens.* The line suggested to follow IX. 674 does not seem very probable. I would rather expel v. 674 altogether; it is a wretched line, and unnecessary, and was probably inserted by someone who supposed that *pars magna* in v. 672 required another *pars* to balance it. But I must not linger

over this subject; nor is there space to deal with the editor's suggested transpositions, which are not very numerous, but are practically all attractive and are defended with characteristic skill and learning (see, for example, note on VI. 374). With regard to the bracketing of lines this edition shows much more discrimination than the Teubner text, and generally, though not quite always, commands assent. Mr. Housman discusses in great detail the causes of the omission of certain lines in the MSS. and the genuineness of these lines. As I have had occasion at various times to write a few words on some of these cases, I may perhaps record my satisfaction in finding that our opinions are in close agreement.

Mr. Housman does not aim at anything like a complete exegesis of the poem, but he has made many contributions of great value to its interpretation. His illustrations are, as usual, a conspicuous feature. In addition to the tablets of his memory, so richly inscribed with diverse and well-ordered learning, he must have quite the most varied and wonderful collection of notebooks or card-indexes in the world. With a well-chosen parallel he can sweep aside an obstacle which has troubled many editors (*e.g.* I. 231) or throw welcome light on a point of grammar, geography, astronomy, or anything else. Of course, some of the illustrations are more apt than others. The difficulties involved in *soporifero somno* (III. 8) are not removed or even alleviated by quoting *Lucr.* IV. 453 f., *suaui deuinxit membra sopore | somnus*, where the addition of *suaui* makes all the difference in the world. In IV. 521 it is scarcely reasonable to illustrate the reading *mobilium iuuenum*, where *iue-num* means 'warriors,' or 'his men,' by quotations dealing with the instability of youth. Such examples could, of course, be multiplied, and there are several places where one might usefully supplement, or even improve upon, the illustrations given; but anybody can play that sort of game with another man's work, however good that work may be. The fact remains that, as an illustrator of the Latin poets, Mr. Housman stands in the very foremost

rank. Most of the explanatory notes are necessarily very brief indeed, and it is not entirely the editor's fault if one is often tempted to exclaim, after reading some curt, dogmatic assertion, *audi alteram partem*. He might have found room for a less one-sided treatment of some debatable questions if he had omitted the 'glimpses of the obvious' with which he seeks from time to time to instruct his *editores*. The notes, be they long or short, suggest several interesting points which one would fain discuss, did space allow. They certainly lay all students of Lucan under a deep debt, and it is a genuine pleasure to the present reviewer to have this opportunity of acknowledging his gratitude, not only for invaluable reinforcement of opinions which he had already formed, but for not infrequent conversion and for still more frequent enlightenment.

Of course, as everyone knows, Mr. Housman is both served and plagued by a familiar imp. It is a clever imp and witty, but just a little inclined to be headstrong and arbitrary. It has great confidence in itself, and sometimes it is not quite as generous to its master's fellow-men as its master would no doubt like it to be. This is unpleasant for other people, but it is also bad for the imp's master, as it sometimes clouds his judgment, which, when the imp is not plaguing him, is always crystal-clear.

Across the sea there is a scholar of charming modesty, who has devoted a long life whole-heartedly to the advancement of learning. The imp's master has confessed that without the patient labours of that scholar, whose name is Carl Hosius, two of his own books could scarcely have been written. But Hosius is a human scholar, and sometimes errs, while the imp is both superhuman and inhuman, and never spares. So throughout the book which we have been considering many gibes are flung at that worthy, modest scholar —gibes sometimes, indeed, harmless, but oftener peevish or harsh or cruel. Wherefore those who admire the imp's master are grieved for him and for his country's good name, and wistfully wonder if imps are as immune from correction as cherubs.

W. B. ANDERSON.

C

THE ROMAN IMPERIAL COINAGE.

The Roman Imperial Coinage. By H. MATTINGLY and E. A. SYDENHAM. Vol. II. : Vespasian to Hadrian. Pp. xvii + 568 and 16 plates. London : Spink and Sons, 1926.

MESSRS SPINK AND SONS and the authors are alike to be congratulated on the rapid progress of this important work. Unlike the former, the present volume has not to compete with the British Museum Catalogue, and until that appears it is quite indispensable to the numismatist, the historian, and the field archæologist, nor, especially to the last, will its value be diminished even when the larger work appears.

The present volume possesses all the merits of its predecessor, and it is satisfactory to learn that the only serious defect which it shares with the former—a certain difficulty in making full use of the plates—will be corrected in the further three volumes, which will complete the period down to Diocletian.

In the earlier part of the period covered by this volume the complexities of the problem are less serious than those of the Iulio-Claudian period, but even here the advance in our knowledge made possible is very considerable: the part played by the mint at Lugdunum, the restored coinage of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, and the dating of the coinage of the last, are all elucidated in a fashion which commands assent, and the introductions to the several reigns contain much of interest and value to the historian; if at times the need for brevity leads to apparent dogmatism. But it is natural to turn with most expectation to the reign of Hadrian, for apart from the not very accessible work of Laffranchi, scattered hints were all that the ordinary student could gain as to the dating within the period 119-138. We are now provided with a scheme, most of which may be readily accepted, which divides the reign into five periods, recognisable by the form of the imperial titulature. (1) The title contains the Pontificate and the Tri-

bunician Power (A.D. 119-122). (2) Obverse Hadrianus Augustus, reverse Cos. III. (A.D. 125-128). (3) Reverse adds P.P. (A.D. 132-134). (4) Obverse Hadrianus Aug. Cos. III. P.P. (134-138). (5) Posthumous (A.D. 138-139). Obverse Hadrianus Aug. P.P. reverse Cos. III.

The doubtful element in this combination, as the writers admit, is the attribution of a considerable group to the first year of Pius' reign, and the obvious alternative, which they reject, is to place the fifth series in the years A.D. 128-132. This they think unlikely: (a) because a cessation of minting seems indicated also in the period of H.'s first journey, and (b) because of two types in the group, one of which, Patientia Augusti, they connect with H.'s fortitude in his last illness; in the other, Rome causing H. to take the hand of a senator, they see the adoption of Pius (early in 138). But neither argument is entirely convincing; the whole of the third sub-section of the first group seems to fall after H.'s departure from Rome (May (?), 121), and the third group begins in 132, more than a year before his final return in 134; the second argument is perhaps an example of the fatal ease with which the historian may come to feel that everything can be explained with the knowledge at our disposal. The Senate's treatment of Hadrian dead makes it not impossible that occasions for the exercise of 'Patientia' or a reconciliation with the Senate through the force of public opinion at Rome may have arisen during the last half of his reign, even if we do not know what they were. But apart from this single part of the scheme, which the writers have in any case put forward with proper reserves, the student may accept their dating with confidence and thank them for valuable light thrown on one of the obscurest, as it is one of the most important, periods in the history of the empire.

D. ATKINSON.

THE LAST AGE OF ROMAN BRITAIN.

The Last Age of Roman Britain. By EDWARD FOORD. Pp. 294, 16 plates, and 3 maps. London: G. G. Harrap, 1925. 15s.

In his attempt to recover the history of the two darkest centuries of our country's annals, Mr. Foord has undertaken a task of great difficulty, one in which he could perhaps hardly hope to win general acceptance for his reconstruction. The work falls naturally into two parts, the former covering the period immediately preceding and including the formal withdrawal by the central government from the administration of Britain, the latter the succeeding age when the still Romanized Britons strove to make head against their barbarian foes. Readers of this journal will perhaps feel more interest in the first of these. In it Mr. Foord finds himself obliged in large measure to reject the orthodox account which dates the military collapse to the last years of the fourth century and the final break to 410, and to construct another in which Britain remains in the fullest sense a province of the empire, garrisoned by imperial troops, and administered by imperial officials, until about 440. His main bases for this are two, a new interpretation of numismatic evidence, and an evaluation of the *Notitia*, resembling that of Professor Bury, though arrived at independently and more rigidly enforced. Coins, says Mr. Foord, require an appreciable period to reach a remote province, and in the case of Britain this period is approximately thirty years; thus he proceeds to show that the archaeologists' dates, based on numismatic evidence, are all wrong. Scotland was not evacuated in 180 but in 206, the second breaking through of Hadrian's wall is not 270-280 but 305, and so on. He takes the considerable body of evidence collected by Mr. Collingwood (*J. R. S.*, Vol. XII., pt. I.) which shows that coins after A.D. 400 are practically non-existent in Britain, and shows how, on his theory, this evidence, agreeing with that of the *Notitia*, proves his case; these latest coins are the natural normal currency of 430-440. This theory appears to me wholly untenable

when applied in practice. *Castra Vètera*, destroyed in 70 (*Tac. Hist.* IV.), is in course of being excavated. Among the coins found there are three of Nero, dated A.D. 64-6, and one countermarked by Vindex in 68 (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXXII., p. 367: B. M. Cat., p. xxxi.). Or compare the cases of Wroxeter and Corbridge. A combination of the evidence of literature, inscriptions, and pottery suggests that their earliest occupations date from about 50 and 80 respectively. In the last few years 32 copper coins of Claudius have been found at Wroxeter; at Corbridge, between 1907 and 1911, pre-Flavian copper is represented by at most 2, Vespasian and Titus by 52. Copper, it should perhaps be said, has a shorter life than silver, and so is more significant for this purpose. This for the ordinary student confirms the other evidence, but on Mr. Foord's theory it must mean a foundation date of about 70-80 for Wroxeter and 100-110 for Corbridge. Such study of coins in a vacuum can in fact lead to no useful result. Mr. Foord is probably right in doubting the cogency of Mr. Collingwood's argument, but he certainly cannot refute it in this way.

He finds it unnecessary to argue the case for the *Notitia* in detail. Since it was composed, as he believes, solely for the use of a single high official, the possibility that it can represent an obsolete organization is excluded; the rest of the document can be dated 427-8, though there are one or two later additions, and the British section must bear the same date.

Professor Bury had admitted doubts of part of the British section, but Mr. Foord will have none of such half measures. He does not attempt, where all before him have failed, to make the details fit with any possible scheme of defence, but is content to remark 'that when it was drawn up the defence of the province was in course of rearrangement'.

Whether, after trying to make the description work, scholars will prefer this explanation to the suggestion that successive officials continued to copy with decreasing care an obsolete docu-

ment which, in not impossible circumstances, might be required again (and quickly), may, I think, be doubted. The fact seems to be that neither the evidence of the *Notitia* nor that of the coins leads to a certain conclusion; at present the miserable scraps of literary evidence are all we have; Mr. Foord's reading of them differs from that of most of the scholars who have wrestled with them—his account is plausible, and it may be right, but if so, it is in spite of the two new bases on which he seeks to build it.

For the later period the situation is even more desperate. When Welsh and

Irish scholars have evolved some method of sifting the grain from the chaff of their native traditions, a means may be provided of evaluating the statements of Gildas or Nennius, but until that can be done an attitude of scepticism may well be maintained. Treated as serious historians, they can, as Mr. Foord has shown, be made the basis of a coherent, even a plausible, narrative, for the refutation of which material is almost wholly lacking, but whether such a narrative can claim to be history in the strict sense is doubtful.

D. ATKINSON.

SELECT PASSAGES ILLUSTRATING MITHRAISM.

Select Passages illustrating Mithraism.

Translated, with an Introduction, by
the Rev. A. E. GEDEN, D.D. Pp.
vi + 87. London: S.P.C.K., 1925.
3s. 6d. net.

INTEREST in Mithraism is now widespread, and it is good that those who feel it should be encouraged to study the ancient evidence and to appreciate the magnitude of the gaps in our knowledge. Dr. Geden's selection from the material collected by Cumont (to which he adds some passages from the *Avesta*) is adequate and useful; perhaps fuller references should be given for some texts (as pp. 63, 65), occasional notes added (as, for instance, on *baresma*, p. 20 f.), and specimens of the inscriptive records quoted. The Introduction is judicious; some ideas expressed in it will hardly win general acceptance, but they are put forward in a tentative manner which disarms criticism.

Dr. Geden has adopted a little too lightly the common theory that Mithraism was the most serious rival of early Christianity, though he recognises correctly that there was at first probably little direct clash between them. On p. 10 we read, 'Along the sides of the chambers were stone benches, or a raised dais, on which probably the celebrants took their places at the ritual of service'; the benches were, however, in all probability for the worshippers (Cumont, *Notes sur un Temple mithraïque d'Ostie*, 16 ff.), and the floor for the actual performers of

the rite. On p. 17 the chief period of Mithraism should probably be dated from the early part of the second century of our era rather than from the middle of the first. To the bibliography on p. 18 should be added Cumont's third edition of his small *Mystères de Mithra* (1913), which contains *addenda* to *Textes et Monuments*; Weinreich's re-edition of Dieterich's *Mithrasliturgie* (1923), with its valuable new pages; and Cumont's most instructive *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*.

An unfortunate mistranslation of a sentence from the life of Commodus in the *Historia Augusta* on p. 66, *sacra Mithraica homicidio uero polluit, cum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris uel dici uel fingi soleat*, which should be rendered, 'he defiled the rites of Mithras with real murder, whereas some word or pretence to excite fear is usual therein,' has obscured its significance; probably it refers to a ritual pretence of killing the initiate. On p. 26 it is wrongly assumed that the taboo on being drunk, which bound the Persian king on all days in the year save one, was a taboo on his drinking of wine at other seasons. We know that he drank wine, though only of the sort called *Xαλυβώνιος* (*Athenaeus* I., p. 28D). On p. 44 it should be noted that the 'virgins' are probably not Mithraic (Cumont, *Mystères* 170), and on p. 55 'Soul' should be substituted for 'Fortune' in the invocation. It may

be of interest to readers to note that the sword mentioned by Tertullian (quoted on p. 43) seems to appear in the stuccos of the Mithraeum of Capua (Minto, *Notizie degli scavi*, 1924, 369, Fig. II, 370), as does certainly the covering of the eyes mentioned by

Ambrosiaster (p. 65; Minto, *l.c.*, 368, Fig. 10).

There is a place for a popular work of this sort, and it would be a satisfaction if any of the above criticisms were of service to the author in the preparation of a second edition.

A. D. NOCK.

Troy and Peonia with Glimpses of Ancient Balkan History and Religion. By GRACE HARRIET MACURDY, Professor of Greek in Vassar College. Pp. xii+259. New York: Columbia University Press; and London: Humphrey Milford, 1925. 20s. net.

THE aim of this book is to prove an original connexion between the Trojans and their allies and the races of the Balkans. It is commended by a 'blurb,' as it is called in the U.S.A., on the wrapper, in the shape of a glowing testimonial from Professor Murray, but it is difficult to find justification in the contents, which display no small amount of inaccuracy. The earlier chapters discuss the evidence to be gleaned from the geography, ethnology, etc., of the *Iliad*, and contain a number of hasty appreciations. The argument from the list of rivers in the *Theogony* is not sound, nor the conversion of Hector into a shadowy avatar of Hades. Leaf's view of the Maeones as merely traders is condemned by their epithet *λινορυφοι*. And there are other signs of precipitancy. It is not Menelaus from whom Sarpedon is to be saved, and it is not Antilochus who is carried from the fight. Alastor in E 677 is not a Trojan, but a Lycian. Even information from authorities—some of whom are sadly misnamed, as Nilsson and Dusseaulx—is incorrectly given, as *Aviona* and *Pronoma* (p. 153), and *Siropaiones* and *Paioplois* (92).

For the further essays, dealing with nature-worship in the Balkans and the evolution of deities from sun, moon, and water, the material is still abundant but more precarious, and there is more need for speculation or bold affirmation, and more scope for etymological adventure. It seems easy in these days for the anthropo-mythologist, by careful selection of facts and etyma and favouring hypotheses, to prove almost any character or origin, beneficent or pernicious, light or dark, animal or vegetable, ancient or recent, for any Greek god, godling, or hero. An examination of one chapter, on 'Artemis the Queen,' discloses a number of weak points. It is not clear how the Hyperborean offerings—'bound in a stalk of corn'; not, as others translate, wrapped in straw or in a sheaf—suggest Apollon *Sitalkas*, or how Artemis is an aspect of the Moon and the same as Hekate Enodia, or how Homer's death-dealing Artemis, who is also, being elemental, *κουρορύφος*, and so 'directly concerned with reproductive life and with death,' is 'surely Hekate, the Moon who works from afar.' 'It can hardly be doubted' that Artemis Basileia was the prototype of the Thessalian *Pheraia*. *Pheraia* was worshipped

with human sacrifices, while the Basileia, according to Herodotus, received simple agrarian offerings, but the latter 'may have' been honoured with savage rites as well. Hekate's name, without reference to any doubt as to its origin such as Farnell's, 'must be' the feminine of the Hekatos of Apollo, and Homer's *χρυσηλάκαρος* of Artemis is, offhand and without even mention of its association with *κελαδεινή*, taken as referring to the spindle. The further inference from the spinning whorls found at Troy, and the derivation of Athene as goddess of spinning from Troy's native deity, seem hardly worth considering. An argument about Eurydice (p. 144) contains just six expressions denoting little more than possibility, but it is silent on one point of importance, the significance of the name as an epithet of the moon. The exposition is not convincing.

The volume, issued by a University Press, and its index, contain many errata, some of them, as Timeaus, *έτελειρο*, hypercoristica, real monstrosities. A long list could be made.

A. SHEWAN.

Sappho: The Poems and Fragments. By C. R. HAINES. (Broadway Translations.) Pp. xviii + 255; 20 plates, chiefly of ancient works of art. London: Routledge, 1926. 12s. 6d.

In a modest preface Mr. Haines writes that his object is 'to provide the general public with a popular, yet I hope not unscholarly, and a comprehensive edition of Sappho, containing all that is known' of her personality and poems. He has taken his task with due seriousness and made a very creditable piece of work of it. The translations, which are, where the text suffices, in English rhymed verse, are readable and pleasant and, save for a few lapses (e.g. *ἀρχομαι* does not mean 'I handsel'), accurate in rendering the original. The introduction, in addition to biographical and critical matter, contains a full discussion of portraits and alleged portraits of the poet, and there is an appendix on her metres, in which some critics will find a Schmidtian taint.

From a working scholar's point of view the worst defect is the absence of a concordance or table of numeration. Now that every editor introduces his own numeration of the fragments, the time spent in discovering how A's No. X is treated by B and C and so forth is at best considerable. It could be wished that all editors would agree to use Diehl's numeration as a standard.

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

Xenophon : Scripta Minora. With an English translation by E. C. MARCHANT. Pp. xli + 464 with frontispiece. London : Heinemann (Loeb Series), 1925. 10s. net.

THIS volume of the Loeb series comprises *Hiero*, *Agesilaus*, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, *Ways and Means*, *On the Cavalry Commander*, *On the Art of Horsemanship*, *On Hunting*. There is a useful and sufficient *Introduction*, in the course of which Mr. Marchant defends the genuineness of all these tracts, excepting only some sections of that *On Hunting*. The translation is executed with skill, although in places it seems less close to the Greek than the Loeb tradition is supposed to require (e.g., p. 155, 'where modesty is apt to be conspicuous by its absence from the board' for μεθ' ἀνπερ καὶ ἐλαχίστη αἰδὼς παραγγιγεραι). The text followed is that of Sauppe, but a considerable number of corrections from other sources are accepted and duly indicated in the footnotes. At *Ages.* III. 2 (p. 100) the divergence of the translation from the text is insufficiently explained in the note. If εὐ ισθι (in *Hiero* XI. 7) 'is not right,' as the footnote asserts, why is it retained in the text and translated? The MSS. have εὐ οὐει which, says Mr. Marchant, 'perhaps conceals εὐδαιμονίου οὐει'—surely a hazardous conjecture! εὐτυχῆς οὐει or εὐτυχῆσις (after παρέχησις) would be preferable. P. 355 (bottom) is another place where text and translation appear to diverge; and, in view of the footnote, it is strange that the text in *Hunting* II. 7 should be retained unaltered. The explanatory notes on the technique of riding and hunting are specially full and admirable—so far, at least, as can be judged by one who cannot claim to be either a poacher or a jockey. Of misprints I have noticed κνῆμα (for κρῆμα), p. 56; *toubles*, p. 93; νεχειρίζον, p. 100. R. G. BURY.

Oratio quae inter Lysiacas fertur octava. Recensuit et explicavit P. ANTONIUS MÜLLER (Monasterii Westfalorum, 1926). Pp. 110. Unbound. No price marked.

Of this *Oration* Prof. Jebb, in his *Attic Orators*, wrote: 'It is scarcely worth while to inquire how this curiously absurd composition first came among the works of Lysias. As it is too uniformly dreary to be mistaken for a joke, not even a grammarian's conception of his sportive style can explain the imputation.' The view that the work is spurious is amply confirmed by the investigations of Mr. Müller. His dissertation consists of a text, with critical footnotes, faced by a Latin translation, followed by an elaborate series of notes and discussions on the language, subject-matter, grammar, and style of the *Oration*. He appears to have consulted all the latest authorities, and he handles his material in a clear and methodical way. The conclusion he reaches is briefly this: that *Or.* VIII. is a speech delivered by an Athenian of the first or second century B.C. at a meeting of a guild of *Ephēbi*, of which he was a member, and published to justify his action in resigning his membership. If this late date be accepted, it serves to put out of court a good many of the emendations of the text which aimed at making

it conform to the genuine style of Lysias. In any case, Mr. Müller's exhaustive enquiry into the problems of date and purpose deserves attention from all students of the Attic orators.

R. G. BURY.

The Return of the Theban Exiles, 379–378 B.C.

The story as told by Plutarch and Xenophon arranged by A. O. PRICKARD. Pp. 96. With 2 maps. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1926. 5s. net.

IN this attractive little book Mr. Prickard has put together a translation of Plutarch's dialogue *On the Genius of Socrates*, an extract from Amyot's French rendering of Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, a translation of the relevant section of Xenophon's *Hellenica V.*, and a page of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Historie of the World*, eulogising the character of Epaminondas. The main part of the book (about 50 pp.) is, of course, occupied by the translation of Plutarch's dialogue, which (as the *Introduction* informs us) 'has been reproduced, after revision, from a volume published in 1918, which included others of . . . the *Moralia*', and it is based on the text of Wyttensbach. The interest of the dialogue is two-fold: it gives a spirited account of the capture of Thebes by the exiles, and it contains also a lively discussion of subjects of religious import, such as inspiration and eschatology; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Prickard's attempt to popularise it will meet with the appreciation it deserves. Certainly his translation makes very pleasant reading.

R. G. BURY.

Thucydides. Books VII. and VIII. With an English translation by CHARLES FORSTER SMITH. Loeb Series, Vol. IV. Pp. 459. London : Heinemann, 1923. With frontispiece and 5 maps. 10s. net.

IN this Volume IV. Mr. C. F. Smith brings to a close his Loeb translation of Thucydides. In addition to the usual footnotes on points of text or interpretation this concluding volume contains a full Index (of some 65 pp.) to the whole work, and five maps, with a bust of Alcibiades for frontispiece. The work of translation has evidently been done with care and judgment, and I have observed but few points which seem to call for criticism. On p. 9 the clause 'it should be explained' seems to have no Greek counterpart, and should be enclosed in brackets; on p. 25, l. 19, the 'it' in 'to reinforce it' is obscure; but a few minor defects of this kind do little to impair the general serviceableness of the work.

R. G. BURY.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross, M.A. *Categoriae* and *De Interpretatione*, by E. M. EDGHILL, M.A.; *Analytica Priora*, by A. J. JENKINSON, M.A.; *Analytica Posteriora*, by G. R. G. MURE, M.A. Oxford : At the Clarendon Press, 1926. Paper, 6s.; cloth, 7s. 6d.

THOUGH the Oxford translation of Aristotle is now approaching completion, the present is the

first instalment of Vol. I., which is to contain the *Organon*.

All three translators use Bekker's text, noting the adoption of any other readings in their notes. In adopting these variants they are usually in agreement with Waitz, whose monumental work on the *Organon*, published eighty years ago, still remains the standard edition; but we may note the following passages where the translators have introduced conjectures of their own to the advantage of their translations: 21a 30, 52a 34, 6ob 19, 62a 36, 76b 33, and 87b 1. The notes frequently suggest improvements of punctuation. Mr. Mure, as the more intricate reasoning of the *Analytica Posteriora* seems to demand, provides a good deal more explanatory matter in the footnotes than his fellow-translators.

Logic is a subject which does not admit of literary treatment, and the *Organon* of Aristotle entirely lacks any charms of style. What we may reasonably demand, therefore, from its translators is, first, clearness; and, secondly, an appropriate choice and a consistent use of English technical terms to render those of the original. In both these respects the present translations are entirely adequate, and will be welcomed as supplying a long-felt need.

E. S. FORSTER.

Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage. By HELMUT BERVE. Two Vols.: I. pp. xvi + 357; II. pp. vii + 446. Munich: Beck, 1926. 45 M.

THE author, a pupil of W. Otto, has here given a picture of Alexander's Empire, ending with his death, from the prosopographic standpoint. It is a laborious undertaking, in many ways admirably carried out; the arrangement is clear, there are many acute observations, and the collection of references is extraordinarily full; it will be invaluable to students of Alexander and do much to smooth their path. Vol. II. gives an article, alphabetically arranged, on everyone who figures in the story; the list of names wherever I have tested it is complete, except that Chorienes only comes under Sisimithres, which is confusing, and the new duplication of Coenus is not convincing. Vol. I. gives a reasoned account of the Empire based on the prosopography, omitting geographical problems, strategy, and tactics; it contains three indexes and a bibliography. The Court, comprising the royal family, daily life, organisation and offices, persons, and religion, occupies 98 pages, the Army 114, and Administration—much the best section—117. This section includes territories and satrapies, and city foundations (both well done), finance, policy, and an interesting view of *Weltherrschaft*; coinage is inadequate, e.g. it omits Newell's work on the mints and Hill's discovery of the lion-gryphon; but all in all this section is the fullest account of the subject yet written. Of actual omissions of sources anywhere I have noted very few; I may mention (p. 193) that the pay of one corps, the hypaspists, is known (*J.G.* II², 1, 329), and that Berve, like Körte, wrongly dates Harpalos' arrival at Athens through overlooking 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.

1918, p. 76. But the author's attitude toward the sources is important. When a man believes the Roman embassy and the visit to Jerusalem one knows what to expect; and Berve accepts too much. There is plenty of criticism of modern work, but too little of the sources; this particularly affects the Court section, where gossip and scandal had free play. This review cannot criticise details; but one thing must, in fairness, be corrected. On p. 10 Berve emphasises Athenaeus' statement (which he calls Dicaearchus') that Alexander was ἐκμάνως φιλόπαιος (603 A), and gives as facts Dicaearchus' Bagooas story and its adjuncts; but he has forgotten that Dicaearchus' contemporary Theophrastus said of Alexander οὐκ εὐ διάκετο πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια, a theme repeated for two generations with a pseudo-scientific explanation (*Athen.* 434 F ff.). The two things are mutually exclusive, and therefore both untrue (quite apart from *Plut. Alex.* 22); they are part of the Peripatetic attack on Alexander. Opinions may fairly differ as to how much of the tradition can be accepted; but the Peripatetic propaganda is outside the pale. The book, for all its merits, too often leaves unanswered the real question: given the information, what is it worth?

W. W. TARN.

Nicomachus of Gerasa: Introduction to Arithmetic. Translated into English by MARTIN LUTHER D'OOGHE, with studies in Greek arithmetic by FRANK EAGLESTON ROBBINS and LOUIS CHARLES KARPINSKI. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volume XVI.) Pp. vii + 318. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926. \$3.50.

THE Teubner text of the *Introductio arithmetica* of Nicomachus, edited by R. Hoche in 1866, has the disadvantage, in comparison with most other Teubner texts of Greek mathematicians, of not having a Latin translation opposite the Greek. It is therefore rather less adapted for general use, especially as, with his intense earnestness and enthusiasm for his subject, Nicomachus is prone to indulge in high-flown language, full of long and strange words. The English translation now before us is therefore doubly welcome. Professor D'Ooge died in September, 1915, having completed the translation, but no more; the subsidiary studies are by the two editors, Mr. Karpinski contributing three chapters, and Mr. Robbins being responsible for the rest of the volume and for the revision of the translation. The introductory 'Studies in Greek mathematics' in Part I., occupying 176 of the 318 large and finely-printed pages, include chapters on the sources of Greek mathematics, Greek arithmetic before Nicomachus, the content of the Greek *arithmetica*, Greek arithmetical notation, the works of Nicomachus, his philosophy, his translators, commentators, and successors, and the text, language and style of our treatise. The notes contain ample quotations from original Greek and Latin sources and references to relevant literature.

The translation is well done, though open to criticism in some details. It seems, for ex-

ample, thoroughly misleading to render γνώμαν by 'original basic form' or 'root-number.' No doubt the translator can point to Boëtius's 'radix et fundamentum,' which is equally misleading. The objection is the greater because Boëtius also uses 'radix' for an improper fraction in its lowest terms, which Nicomachus calls πυθμήν, and for which the translator has 'root-number' and 'root-form.' 'Base' or 'basic form' would seem better for πυθμήν, while for γνώμαν we should say 'gnomon' simply, since that word is, or should be, familiar to mathematicians generally.

A useful glossary of Greek words, a select bibliography, and an index complete the volume, which can be thoroughly commended.

T. L. HEATH.

Philodemus: Over den Dood. Door T. KUIPER. Pp. xvi + 165. Amsterdam : H. J. Paris, 1925.

MR. KUIPER'S study of Philodemus' *περὶ θαύματος* is a doctoral thesis from the University of Amsterdam. It is a full commentary on the treatise, translating the text, discussing the argument and the language, dealing with textual doubts and difficulties, and adducing parallels from other authors. An appendix prints a text, based on that of Bassi (1914) but incorporating the results of a new collation of the papyrus and the transcripts by Dr. J. Kampstra. This collation, however, in the main merely confirms Bassi's report. The text is not quite complete, omitting all passages which were so fragmentary that the commentary could take no account of them. The portions printed contain many new restorations by Vogliano (communicated by letter), by the author's 'promoter' W. K. (the full name seems not to be given), by the author himself, and by others. There is a useful introduction, setting the views of the Epicureans in relation to those of other schools and dealing concisely with the literature of consolation, to which, as Buresch showed, the *περὶ θαύματος* belongs. The translation and commentary seem to be careful and trustworthy, and can be confidently recommended to anyone who has to deal with this tract. We learn from Mr. Kuiper's introduction that a new edition of the text is in preparation by a pupil of Professor Jensen (Kiel).

J. L. STOCKS.

'Ocellus Lucanus': Text und Kommentar von RICHARD HARDER. (*Neue Philologische Untersuchungen*, Hrsg. v. WERNER JAEGER, erstes Heft.) Pp. xv + 160. Berlin : Weidmann, 1926. 9 M.

THIS work deserves further treatment than the C.R. is able to give room for. We note, first, that it marks the end of the very valuable series of *Philologische Untersuchungen*, which Wilamowitz (at first with Kiessling) has for so many years edited, and the inauguration of a new series (*Neue Philologische Untersuchungen*) edited by Jaeger. We shall confidently hope to find the best traditions of the old series continued in the new ; and this first volume, by the editor of *Gnomon*, a pupil of Jaeger's, confirms the hope.

The tract of Ocellus Lucanus on the *Eternity of the World* is described in the histories of philosophy as a neo-pythagorean forgery of the first century B.C. ; as old as Varro, for he was the source of Censorinus who mentions it, but later than Andronicus, since it repeats whole sentences of Aristotle's *De Gen. et Corr.*, which before Andronicus was unknown. Harder gives us a carefully restored text, based on a thorough examination of the MSS., and subjects the treatise to minute examination in a commentary of some 120 pages. In date he would take it back to the second century, on the evidence of its connexion with the Plato-Archytas letters (Diog. Laert. VIII. 80, 81). He shows that the tract is composite, being modelled probably in the main on 'Philolaus' *περὶ ψυχῆς*, a forgery of that period, but drawing in detail chiefly from peripatetic sources, in particular, (a) Aristotle's dialogue *περὶ φιλοσοφίας* (accounting for certain apparent echoes of the *De Anima*), and (b) a lecture-commentary on the *De Gen. et Corr.*. The supposition that the author attended lectures at the Lyceum avoids the difficulty that this, with the other treatises, was not known to the public before the time of Andronicus. Harder deals admirably with the long section based on this source, and shows conclusively that it was a commentary similar in method and style to those of Alexander Aphrodisiensis and his successors. If this is right, our history of the schools of philosophy must in future reckon with three not unimportant results : (1) Aristotle's physical treatises were the subject of detailed exposition by lecture in the Lyceum of the second century ; (2) an interest in Pythagoreanism developed at the same place and time ; (3) the absolute gap in the history of Pythagoreanism between the third and first centuries is partially filled by the new evidence. There is also the very interesting implication that the method of exposition followed by Alexander is shown to be not a new departure, but the continuation of a long-established tradition.

Mr. Harder's work merits the careful attention of Aristotelians.

J. L. STOCKS

Sallustius Concerning the Gods and the Universe. Edited with Prolegomena and Translation by ARTHUR DARBY NOCK. Pp. cxxiii + 48. Cambridge University Press, 1926. 12s. 6d. net.

IT gives the reviewer unalloyed satisfaction to record this piece of necessary work well done. Sallustius, or however exactly his name ought to be spelled, wrote his little work probably in Julian's time ; it survived no one knows how, and perhaps attracted the attention of some Byzantine of the times of Michael Psellos, who was on the look-out for authorities on the allegorisation of myths ; hence it passed ultimately, in a MS. of the year 1300 or thereabouts, into the hands of Renaissance scholars, and so was printed ; and no one had troubled to examine the MS. from which they made their copies, much less to print a text based upon it, till quite recently. G. Muccio pointed out not long ago that the thirteenth or fourteenth-century codex already

mentioned, Ambrosianus B 99 *sup.*, was the source of all other MSS., and if Mr. Nock had confined himself to printing this with a few necessary emendations, he would even so have done well by scholarship.

But he has done much more. Besides a good translation, he has enriched the book with a learned, yet readable and unpedantic introduction, dealing with the intellectual background, the content of the treatise, the sources and authorship, the style and form, and the transmission of the text. The first chapter of these prolegomena forms an admirable sketch of the history of popular philosophy in later Imperial times, with copious illustrations, often from sources little known. In summarising the work, he gives us a discussion of the source and history of every idea contained in it. On the question of style, he has some interesting remarks about rhythm, quantitative and accentual, which it would be worth someone's while to follow up, for instance in S. Chrysostom.

Since Mr. Nock's own knowledge is so wide, and since, where it failed him, he went for information to such excellent authorities as those whom he names in the last paragraph of his preface, it is only in a few very small details that anything like a mistake can be found. P. xviii, I doubt the translation of *πρὸς τὰς φιλοσόφους αἱρέσεις* as 'against the schools of philosophers'; p. xxxi, does *στενοχωρεῖσθαι* in a latish Christian author mean anything so definite as 'feel confined'? P. xxxv, I suggest that *διλ' ἐφύην σοφίη <ι> τα<ὶ>ν τὸ λαχών οὐνομά* means 'I had the same name as that incarnation of wisdom,' i.e., 'my name was Pythagoras'; p. 10, 21, *ἀληθῆς ήν* (would be) *ὁ λόγος*, is it necessary to add *ἀν* after *ήν*? Such an extension of the usage with *εἰκός ήν*, *θεία*, etc. (see Goodwin, *G.M.T.*, 415 ff.) seems not impossible in this author. P. 22, 24, is not *εἰ δὲ δαιμονάς τις λέγοι κακούς* rather 'if one allege (the existence of) evil spirits' (cf. p. 18, 21, *εἰ δὲ τρίγυνα . . . λέγοντιν*) than 'if spirits are called evil'? P. 24, 9, I think *ἀρεῖα* to be sound, with the meaning 'miracles'; in that case the conjunctions in the sentence require some slight emendation. P. 30, 6, assuming that *οὐκ ἀν θεοὶ φθεροῦσιν* is not correct Attic, still Sallustius may have thought it was; *οὐδὲ ἀν ηὗξει δεῦρο* quite possibly stood in his text of *Rep.* X. 615 D, see Burnet's critical note there. P. 34, 8, doubtless *ἀροτοῦσθαι* can mean to do a thing perfunctorily, but I much doubt if that meaning will make sense here. P. 36, 2, the translation does not give the full force of *καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν*. The printers add to this list one or two small misprints, of which a dropped accent on p. 8, 1 is about the most serious.

It is very rare to find a book, even of this moderate size, in which a careful reading can find so few things even to doubt. Add that its positive value is great, and would remain so if there were a blunder on every page, and it is obvious that we have good reason to thank Mr. Nock for the minute and laborious diligence, coupled with an excellent understanding of his material, which has given us this long looked-for work.

H. J. ROSE.

Die Hausschwelle in Sprache und Religion der Römer. Von KARL MEISTER. (Heidelberger Sitzungsberichte, 1924-25, 3. Abh.) Pp. 48. Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1925. 2 marks.

THIS interesting monograph comes to the following conclusions. *Sublimis* is descended from the phrase *super limen*, clipped in daily speech to *sup' limen*, from which, in the days of Cato and Ennius, the adjective *sublinis* was formed, much as *aborigines* was from *ab origine*. Now in Roman speech the threshold is continually mentioned (*sup[er], intra, extra limen ferre, rapere, etc.*) where most languages would say merely 'in' or 'out,' with a verb of motion. This is illustrated by numerous passages from Plautus, as well as later authors. In particular the phrase, and the word *limen* itself, is connected with the well-known carrying in of the bride, also with the solemn farewell to one's home on departure for a long journey (as Plaut. *Merc.* 830). Thus it had a certain formal and religious flavour about it, and so was used, for want of anything better in a language so poor in words for anything super-terrestrial as Latin, to signify 'lofty,' 'on high,' *μερέωπος*, by Ennius and those who came after him. To the reviewer the above views seem at least ingenious and plausible, and the material gathered by Herr Meister is certainly of interest.

H. J. ROSE.

The Week : An Essay on the Development of the Seven-Day Cycle. By F. H. COLSON. Pp. vii + 126. Cambridge University Press, 1926. 5s. net.

THIS little book is amateurish, contains many mistakes in detail, and shows imperfect familiarity with the subject; yet Mr. Colson's good sense and sound instinct for going to the primary authorities whenever he can make it worth reading and considering. He finds that while the Jewish Sabbath is old enough, the planetary week with which we are familiar is not to be certainly traced farther back than about the beginning of our era, at least as a thing vulgarly known. He notes further that, supposing we start with the Sabbath, thought to be Saturn's day (he might have shown that Kronos is one of the deities with whom Yahweh was occasionally equated), and proceed to make Saturn regent of its first hour, the Moon of the next, Mercury of the next, and so on, we arrive at a week in which each day has for the regent of its first hour the planet after which it is now named; assuming, that is, the order of planets which he calls normal (p. 16) and which certainly was common. He thinks late Ptolemaic Egypt may have been the home of this system of reckoning (here he makes too much out of Cassius Dio, XXXVII. 18, 1, for the claim that the week is an Egyptian invention may be merely part of the more sweeping claim of the Egyptians to have invented astrology), and that the wide dissemination of a rough popular notion of astrology, which made it worth the average man's while to know what day it was, astrologically speaking, accounts for the rapid spread of the habit of reckoning in weeks.

H. J. ROSE.

Die griechische Dichtung. By DR. ERICH BETHE, Professor at the University of Leipzig. [Unfinished : Parts 30, 39, 41, 46, 47, 50, 57, 61 of *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, edited by Dr. Oskar Walzel, and others.] Pp. 256; 182 illustrations. Wildpark-Potsdam : Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaeum, 1924-1926.

Die Literatur der Römer bis zur Karolingerzeit. By DR. ALFRED KAPPELMACHER, Professor at the University of Vienna. [Unfinished : Part 55 of the same publication, 1926.] Pp. 32; 24 illustrations. Subscription price, R.M. 2.20 each part.

THE Roman section of this handbook cannot yet be fairly criticised. The one part published deals in a brief but interesting way with the early languages and populations of Italy, with early Greek influence, and with the traces of popular poetry. The illustrations are well-chosen, but are inevitably less attractive than those of the Greek section.

Bethe's book is delightful. His views, always vigorous and positive, are expressed with singular lucidity; indeed, I never met with a German book so easy to read. His appreciation of Homer's art seems to me admirable, deeply though I disagree with his well-known late dating of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. His handling of Dorian and Lesbian society is most refreshing in its freedom from cant. In discussing the origin of tragedy, he unhesitatingly rejects Aristotle's derivation from the Satyr-play : 'keine Brücke führt von einem zum anderen.' In his view, tragedy came from the Peloponnes, from Arion and the Adrastus choruses of Sicyon. Prose is mentioned only incidentally, though he gives some space to Plato, as being in truth a poet: how much space, is not yet clear, for at this point the last published part breaks off.

The illustrations, of which there are three to every five pages, are very good. They are drawn from a great variety of publications, chiefly periodical, and are wisely chosen to illustrate the contemporary development of Greek art in its various centres, rather than the subject-matter of particular poems. The bibliographical references are slight, and almost confined to German work.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Sardis. (Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis.) Volume X, Terra-cottas. Part One, Architectural Terra-cottas. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. Pp. ix+47; 14 colour plates and 22 figures. Cambridge : The University Press, 1926. 63s. net.

THIS splendid volume forms a worthy companion to the other volumes of the series. The architectural terra-cottas found in the Sardis excavations before the war were damaged during the hostilities between the Greeks and Turks, but the author made fresh excavations in 1922, as well as using the records of earlier work. The finds include roof-tiles and a few fragments assigned to *acroteria*, but most are from *simae* or gutters. Little is known of the buildings to

which they belonged, except that they must have had gabled roofs, and were probably built of mud-brick on stone foundations. It would seem that they were mostly mausolea or treasure-houses for sepulchral gifts, and all the evidence points to a date well before the fall of Croesus, about the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The admirable illustrations include, as well as the *simae*, photographs of the site where most of the terra-cottas were found, and a few specimens of Lydian pottery. The *simae* are decorated with conventional ornament, with horses, chariots, lions, bulls, and dogs-of-war, and occasionally with mythological figures, which include Theseus and the Minotaur.

Many of these works are very beautiful, and since they show connexions with inner Asia and with Etruria, as well as with Ionian Greece, it is obvious that their importance in artistic history is great, and fully justifies so elaborate a publication. Mr. Shear's descriptions are full and clear, and his generalisations learned, sensible, and illuminating.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Ancient Furniture: A History of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Furniture. By GISELA M. A. RICHTER, with an Appendix by ALBERT W. BARKER. Pp. xxxviii+191. 364 illustrations. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 105s. net.

THIS sumptuous and excellent book deals exhaustively with a neglected subject. The evidence comes chiefly from vase-paintings and reliefs, but there are many statues and statuettes which embody thrones, chairs, and couches, as well as a few remains of actual pieces in wood and metal. The literary evidence is fully and ably used, and there is an excellent discussion of technique. Dr. Barker provides and explains about twenty good scale drawings of Greek types, based, in the main, on reliefs and vase-paintings.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Vol. V. Pp. 130. 66 plates. Rome : American Academy, 1925. Paper.

THIS very valuable publication is too strictly archaeological for detailed review in this place. This number contains articles on the Barberini tomb by the late C. Densmore Curtis ; on the Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum, by H. F. Rebert and H. Marceau ; on the First and Second Temples of Castor at Rome, by T. Frank ; on Pompeian Archaeology, by A. W. Van Buren ; and on the Sacra Via of Nero, by E. Van Deman. All the articles show the extraordinarily high standard characteristic of American work in these fields.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting. By ERNST PFUHL. Translated by J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. vi+150; 160 illustrations in half-tone and colour. London : Chatto and Windus, 1926. 30s. net.

DR. PFUHL'S *Meisterwerke der griechischen Zeichnung und Malerei* was warmly praised by me in C.R. XXXIX, p. 44. The English

edition, also very welcome, is more sumptuously dressed, and therefore, unfortunately, more expensive than the German; but the illustrations are still fresh, and Professor Beazley's name is sufficient guarantee both for the contents of the book and for the style of the version, which is sometimes more lively than the original (e.g. 'the admirable group of the Greek collapsing before the determined Amazon and goggling in terror at the axe which threatens his bared head almost reminds us of Dutch pictures of chawbacons'). In the preface, the translator's reference to Wölfflin may puzzle some of his readers, and the author's reference to Fig. 5 mislead them. The latter should be to Fig. 75.

A. S. F. GOW.

The Culture of Ancient Greece and Rome: A General Sketch. By F. POLAND, E. REISINGER, and R. WAGNER. Authorized translation from the second German edition by J. H. FREESE. Pp. 319; 136 half-tone illustrations and 2 plans. London: G. G. Harrap and Co. £1 1s. net.

Die antike Kultur in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt, as we are informed in the preface, is a compendium of two larger volumes, and designed for public schools and the general reader. For the latter it seems to us too technical; to the former the English version may be useful. It contains sections upon Literature, Philosophy and Science, Religion, Art, Private Life, the Army, and the Constitution. The translation is readable, the illustrations chosen with judgment, but in some cases poorly reproduced.

A. S. F. GOW.

Juno: A Study in Early Roman Religion. By EMILY LEDYARD SHIELDS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Latin, Smith College, U.S.A. (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 7.) Pp. iv+74. Northampton, Massachusetts, May, 1926. 75 cents.

'WHAT, then, was Juno originally to the Roman religious mind? There is no more difficult question than this in our whole subject; as we probe carefully in those dark ages she baffles us continually.' So Miss Shields quotes from Warde Fowler (*R.E.*, p. 135): her monograph is a renewal of the probing and an attempt to let in light on the 'dark ages.' She has most conscientiously collected the evidence of antiquity and the opinions of modern scholars on the etymology of the name, the aspects and functions of Juno, her relation to other deities and *numina*, and her cult-titles. If the result is a little bewildering and one is left with a sense of rather overcrowded detail, most readers will feel that they do emerge from it a little less baffled than before. The main puzzle is briefly this: On the one hand Juno is familiar to us in Graeco-Roman times as the consort of Jupiter; and there is much evidence to show that in the primitive period the two deities were constantly associated; that Juno had many of the features of a sky-goddess, and in particular as 'Covella' an association with the moon, marked by her close connexion with the Calends. On the other she is undoubtedly a deity of women:

she has a prominent place in the marriage-rites; as Lucina she is intimately connected with childbirth; and we are always told that women had their Juno as men had their Genius. Which is the earlier conception, and what is the relation between them?

Otto, Wissowa in his second edition, and Warde Fowler rather hesitatingly, held the view that Juno was primarily the goddess of women. Miss Shields would swing back to the earlier belief that she was a sky-goddess and the female counterpart of Jupiter (as Fauna was to Faunus and Caca to Cacus); that her rites were connected with fertility and harvests, and so with the fertility of women and childbirth—the transition is not difficult. She has not, I think, adduced much new evidence, but her careful review does show a clear preponderance in this direction. Etymology suggests a connexion with the root *di-* through a form *Diovino*. Many of her cult-titles show a correspondence to those of Jupiter; and there is no doubt that her association with the new moon at the Calends was very early (I do not remember to have seen before the important point which Miss Shields makes on p. 15 that all the principal festivals of Juno were on the first of the month). On the other hand, the evidence for the 'Juno' of women is late, and her character as a goddess of childbirth may well be derivative. Miss Shields might, I think, well have pointed out that it is far less easy to derive her sky-character from an original function as a deity of women.

The weakest section of the book appears to me to be that on the connexion with Janus, which depends almost entirely on the rather doubtful association of Janus with the Calends. We may have to give Janus Diana as a female counterpart, but let us spare him Juno.

It is probable that opinion will come round to Miss Shields' view of the origin of Juno. We have been in such terror of attributing personal relationships to Roman *numina* or of allowing that Graeco-Roman associations of deity-pairs have any primitive basis to build upon, that we have sometimes been blind to the kinship which in spite of all differences existed between the Greek and Roman religions. This monograph not merely puts the evidence together in a handy form, but has done something to shift the balance of the conclusion.

CYRIL BAILEY.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes Philippicae I, II.

Edited by J. D. DENNISTON. Pp. xxiv +

186. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 4s. 6d. THE first two Philippics are so replete with historical points that many of these have escaped the attention of past annotators. In this new edition Mr. Denniston sets a new standard of thoroughness, and in his full and numerous notes tackles the historical topics with admirable vigour. As a rule he finds a satisfactory solution for the problems which he raises (e.g. in II. 83, where he cogently argues that Caesar persisted in the election of Dolabella to the consulship, despite Antony's 'obnuntiatio'); in the remaining cases (e.g. II. 49-50, on the date of

Antony's quaestorship), he states the difficulties fairly and squarely. The only point at which his work seems incomplete is in the introduction, where the narrative of the complex and confusing events of spring and summer 44 B.C. could fitly have been rounded off with a discussion of Cicero's and Antony's policies at that period. Was Antony really turning tyrant, and how far was Cicero's opposition to him based on any consistent principle? To make space for this summary, some of the excellent but less indispensable notes on antiquities and straightforward historical points might perhaps have been curtailed. Of the three Appendices, Nos. I and III contain lucid summaries of recent research on the distribution of provincial governorships and on the Roman auspices; No. II deals with the equestrian juries, concerning whose status Mr. Denniston makes some new and helpful suggestions.

The following points of detail invite a few words of comment:

I. 5. *In Caesaris commentariis*.—A reference to v. Premerstein's valuable analysis of Caesar's 'acta' (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Romanistische Abteilung*, 1922, p. 129-143) might here be inserted.

I. 17. *Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret*.—This fund amounted to 700 million, not 700 thousand, sestercii.

II. 20. *Concedat laurea laudi*.—Mr. Denniston suggests that the true reading may be 'linguae.' But to Cicero at any rate 'lingua' was a term of abuse (*Pro Flacco*, § 54; *Ad. Fam.* IX. 2).

II. 35. *Illud Cassianum*.—'L. Cassius . . . introduced voting by ballot.' Add 'in the iudicia populi.'

II. 39. *Erant illa (Pompeii) castra plena curae*.—Mr. Denniston accepts this as substantially true. But Caesar (B.C. III. 82-83) and Plutarch (*Pompey*, ch. 67, = Pollio?) state that the Pompeians were overweeningly confident.

II. 82. *Comitiorum dies*.—The note 'Roman magistrates were elected by the Comitia Centuriata' suggests that all magistrates were elected in this assembly, not merely the three highest grades.

II. 91. *Tua illa pulchra laudatio*.—Need Suetonius' statement, 'Antonius perpaucā a se verba addidit,' be rejected? Antony's speech might have been all the more effective for its brevity, as Shakespeare's is.

Altogether, this edition marks a great advance upon its predecessors. It leaves teachers and students no excuse for neglecting the historical context of the first two *Philippics*.

M. CARY.

The Vigiles of Imperial Rome. By P. K. BAILLIE REYNOLDS. Pp. 134, 8 plates, and 3 plans. Oxford: University Press, 1926. 8s. 6d.

THERE exists no comprehensive work in English upon the corps of Vigiles, and all students of Roman History must be grateful to Mr. Baillie Reynolds for the way in which he has filled the gap. He has collected the evidence available from inscriptions, from literary references, and from recent excavations, and em-

bodied it all in an essay which makes very pleasant reading; there are chapters upon the office of the *Praefectus Vigilum*, upon the organisation and equipment of the corps, upon the Excubitoria; and as an appendix the author gives a list of Prefects and Sub-Prefects. It is a very useful and workmanlike study, and makes the best of the rather meagre information we possess.

The non-military character of the Vigiles, as instituted by Augustus, is well brought out, and Chapters III. and IV., upon the Stations and Excubitoria, and Conditions of Service, are up to date and admirable. I cannot help feeling that the passage in Lydus upon the early institution of the *Tresviri Nocturni* depends more on the Juvenal Scholiast than Mr. Reynolds believes, and it might have been worth while to quote C.I.L. XII. 2228 in the section on the Prefect. But the book as a whole is excellent, a model of what such a monograph should be.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

Roman Private Life and its Survivals. By W. B. McDANIEL, Ph.D., Professor of Latin, University of Pennsylvania. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, 43.) Pp. xii + 203. London: Harrap, 1925. 5s. net.

THIS is not a book which requires a lengthy notice. It deals with the various aspects of Roman private life in thirteen short chapters, ranging from the Home to Burial. The treatment is necessarily slight, and from the standpoint of the archaeologist offers nothing that is new. The book is, however, brightly and pleasantly written, and the instances of survivals of ancient Roman customs in modern Italy form a feature welcome and, to some extent, novel. The writer has a good first-hand knowledge of that life, and uses it skilfully to illustrate Roman manners; at the same time he shows that he is well versed in Latin literature. His comparative allusions to modern American life will also be found instructive.

The book will disappoint the archaeologist who looks for much detail, and the absence of illustrations in a work of this kind is a serious drawback, but it can be commended to the general reader of the Classics in translation who wishes to have a slightly sketched picture of ancient Roman life.

An adequate Bibliography is appended, but there is no Index.

F. H. MARSHALL.

Untersuchungen sur Sprache der Mulomedicina Chironis. Von SIGFRID GREVANDER. Pp. viii + 164. Lund: Gleerup; Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 4½ Swedish crowns.

STUDENTS of Löfstedt's commentary on the *Itinerarium Aetheriae abbatisue* are well aware of the astoundingly interesting results for the study of Vulgar Latin which he draws from the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, especially by comparison with the polished revision of that work by Vegetius. The present monograph, an extract from the valuable 'Lunds Universitets Årsskrift' (Bd. 22), is by a pupil of Löfstedt, who suggested the work to him. It is not an exhaustive study of the Latinity of the handbook, but an account

of the use of the pronouns, followed by a thorough comparison between the *Mulomedicina* and Vegetius, a section dealing with textual criticism, and a suggestive chapter on the place of origin of the *Mulomedicina*. The whole constitutes a first-rate piece of work, accurate, comprehensive, and acute. The writer has taken the trouble to consult the sole MS. of the work, and most of his emendations of Oder's text are undoubtedly right. A careful linguistic argument leads the author to assign the work to Sardinia; for this conclusion he has made out a good case. The book is excellently indexed, is well worthy of the Swedish school, and ought not to be neglected by any student of the later Latin or Romanic origins. Add 'sard' to the list of abbreviations on p. viii.

A. SOUTER.

The Ars Minor of Donatus, for 1,000 years the leading textbook of grammar, translated from the Latin, with introductory sketch, by W. J. CHASE [University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 11].

Pp. 55; one illustration. Madison, 1926.

A HANDY edition of the Latin (Keil's text), with an English translation and an historical introduction.

A. SOUTER.

Palladiusstudien : akademische Abhandlung.

Von H. WIDSTRAND. Pp. x+71. Uppsala : Almqvist and Wiksell. 1926.

J. C. SCHMITT'S edition of Palladius (Leipzig : Teubner, 1898) is a work of no special merit. Schmitt made known the readings of MSS. with much greater fullness than his predecessors, but he does not appear to have had the training necessary to enable him to deal wisely with a late Latin text. Dr. Widstrand is in a different position altogether. Taught by such scholars as Sjögren and Thörnell, he has learnt to handle Palladius' work with delicacy and insight. In many passages he has shown beyond cavil that Schmitt has gone astray, and this study should not be neglected by students of the later period. It is a good example of the work we have learned to expect from the Swedish school.

A. SOUTER.

Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke : Untersuchungen zum neunzehnten Buch der Civitas Dei. Von HARALD FUCHS. Pp. iv+258. Berlin : Weidmann, 1926. 14 Marks.

THE plan of the present work is as follows : Introduction; First Part—The Nineteenth Book of the *Civitas Dei*; 1st chapter, Augustine and Varro's *De Philosophia* (C.D. XIX. 1-10); 2nd chapter, Augustine's Opinions on Peace (C.D. XIX. 11-17), comprising 'The Urge to Peace,' 'The Idea of *pax* and *ordo*,' 'The Peace of the Pious'; 3rd chapter, The Conclusion of the Nineteenth Book of the C.D. (XIX. 18-28); Second Part—Augustine and the Ancient Conception of Peace; 1st chapter, The Ancient Views of Peace in the Nineteenth Book of the C.D.; 2nd chapter, The Greek Views on Peace, comprising 'The Peace of the Universe and the Model of the Brutes,' 'The Peace of the Like-minded,' 'Stages in the Realization of

Peace,' 'The Will to Peace'; 3rd chapter, The Adoption of the Ancient Views on Peace by Augustine. The appendixes are almost as long as the first half of the book, and deal with 'Augustine and Varro,' 'Late Roman Views on the State,' 'The Idea of Peace' (*εἰρήνη, pax, εἰρήνη* and *pax* in Christian language), and 'The After-effects of the Ancient Conceptions of Peace.' Very full indexes conclude the work.

The classical student must not suppose from the title-page that this discussion of a timely topic does not directly concern him. The author has proved, what has become evident to the reviewer from study of other parts of the *De Civitate Dei*, that there is a great deal more of Varro latent in it than is generally supposed. Augustine here depends very closely on Varro, and Varro on Antiochus of Ascalon. Further, the author gives a very minute study of the words *εἰρήνη* and *pax* throughout the whole of their history. It is enough to mention that he has had at his disposal the vast stores of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* at Munich to show that his study of the word *pax* is the most comprehensive and thorough in print. This whole work may be hailed with joy as a sign that the classical school of Berlin, under the able leadership of Professor Werner Jaeger, whose epoch-making work on Aristotle was introduced to the readers of the *Classical Review* a year or two ago, is doing first-rate work in the domain of classical literature, and will make all of us its debtors. Considerations of space do not permit the addition here of a few notes that the reviewer has made in the course of reading.

A. SOUTER.

Quaestiones rhythmicæ imprimis ad Theodoreti Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes. Scriptum WILHELMUS GOEBER. One vol. Pp. xii+85. Berlin : Weidmann, 1926. 4 Mks. 50 Pf.

A GOOD critical edition of Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History*, from the hands of Leo Parmentier, appeared in the Prussian series of ante-Nicene Fathers in 1911, and furnishes a solid basis for an investigation like the present. Dr. Goebert makes a careful study of the laws of rhythmical prose as observed by Theodoret, and his treatise is a welcome addition to the scanty literature on the rhythms of late Greek prose. He avails himself of the rules to decide sometimes, though not often, in favour of a different text from that chosen by Parmentier, and argues that the observation of the rules of the *clausula* is generally found in writers born outside Greece proper, that in fact it is of Antiochian origin. Altogether this is a very attractive piece of work, and it is to be hoped that someone will extend the investigation to the *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* (ed. J. Raeder, Leipzig, 1904).

A. SOUTER.

The Gothic Version of the Gospels : A Study of its Style and Textual History. By G. W. S. FRIEDRICHSEN, M.A., D.Lit. One vol. Pp. 263. Oxford : University Press : London ; Humphrey Milford, 1926. 21s.

THE first half of this learned and careful volume concerns the student of Gothic alone,

but the second half has real importance for all who are interested in the textual history of the Greek or Latin Gospels. It is now over a quarter of a century since Professor Burkitt proved that *f* (Codex Brixianus) is descended from the Latin side of a Gothic-Latin bilingual, a fact of considerable importance, seeing that Codex Brixianus represents, in the opinion of Hort, Wordsworth, and White, the type of text employed by Jerome as the basis of his revision. What is chiefly novel in this volume is the serious contention that the 'African' Codex *e* (Codex Palatinus, now again at Trent) is also closely related to the Gothic. In this connexion those interested ought to consult two works from the pen of Professor H. J. Vogels, namely, *Evangelium Palatinum* (*Münster i. W.* 1926), and *Die Vorlage des Vulgatalextes der Evangelien* (*Revue Bénédicteine*, 1926, pp. 123-138). Dr. Friedrichsen's book is most heartily to be welcomed.

A. SOUTER.

A Reconstruction of the Old Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels used by Saint Augustine, with a Study of their Character. By C. H. MILNE, M.A. One vol. Pp. xxix + 177. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. 10s. 6d.

SABATIER paid special attention to Augustine's quotations from the Bible in his great work, which is still unsurpassed, though it is nearly two hundred years old. But since his day many of the works of Augustine have been better edited in the Vienna series, and neither of the two 'African' Latin biblical codices, *k* (Bobiensis) or *e* (Palatinus) was known to Sabatier. Professor Burkitt long ago showed that Augustine, after about A.D. 400, habitually quotes the Vulgate Gospels, especially when he has a long extract to make. It is important, however, to get some idea of the character of the copy or copies of the Gospels he used before the Vulgate came into his hands. Mr. Milne sets before us in parallel columns all the non-Vulgate quotations in the first fifty of Augustine's one hundred and eighteen surviving works, and opposite these gives the readings of *k* (Cyprian) and *e*. In his interesting introduction he sheds light on various points connected with the quotations, and in a valuable appendix he shows that of all our Vulgate codices of the Gospels C (Codex Cavensis, of Spanish origin) comes nearest in text to the Vulgate copy used

by Augustine. This work is a real contribution to learning.

A. SOUTER.

Byzantion: Revue internationale des Études byzantines. Pp. viii + 755. Paris and Liège. 1924.

LIKE the other Byzantine periodicals, *Byzantion* consists of three parts, original articles (pp. 1 to 580), reviews (pp. 581 to 648), and bibliographical (pp. 649 to 755). The field of Byzantine studies is so wide that there is room indeed for this new periodical, and with this first volume the editors, MM. Paul Graindor and Henri Grégoire, have made an excellent start. It is only possible here to call attention to a few out of the thirty articles which make up the first part of the volume. Kondakov's article in French on *Les costumes orientaux à la cour de Byzance*, with numerous illustrations, throws light on these difficult questions. Andréades writes with authority on Byzantine finance. Hagiography enables Bréhier to collect interesting information on rural life in the ninth century. Hesseling makes a contribution towards a better text of two medieval Greek poems: a most useful work, when we consider how bad many of the published texts of these poems are. Jeanselme and Oeconomos offer a French translation of the very difficult Prodomic poem, *The Satire against the Abbots*. These and other good articles make this first volume indispensable, and will, we hope, ensure good support for *Byzantion*. In the third part there is a number of bulletins régionaux; it is interesting to see how important now are the contributions of the Bulgarian and Roumanian scholars to Byzantine learning. We hope to see many volumes as good as this first.

R. M. DAWKINS.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers have been read:

- Oct. 29: 'Recent Accessions to Early Boeotian Poetry,' by Mr. J. U. Powell.
- Nov. 12: 'Alexander and Dionysus,' by Mr. A. D. Nock.
- Nov. 26: 'The Helladic Question,' by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke.
- Dec. 3: 'Burnet's Account of Socrates,' by Mr. J. D. Mabbott.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK). (1926.)

LITERATURE.—Dec. 6. Sister M. Inviolata Barry, *St. Augustine, The Orator. A Study of the Rhetorical Qualities of St. Augustine's Sermones ad Populum* [Washington, D.C. 1924]. G. Reynolds, *The Clausulae in the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine* [Washington, D.C. 1924]. Sister M. Dolorosa Maninx, *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de Obitu Theo-*

dosii [Washington, D.C. 1925] (H. C. Coffin). These dissertations are Volumes VI., VII. and VIII. of the Catholic University of America Patristic Studies: all are praised as careful and scholarly.

PHILOSOPHY.—Dec. 13. Margaret E. J. Taylor, *Greek Philosophy: an Introduction* [In 'The World's Manuals': Oxford University Press, 1924] (W. S. Fox). Highly praised for independence, clarity, and sense of proportion.

RELIGION.—Nov. 29. F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1923] (E. Riess). Long review of the third edition, revised with the aid of the author himself by K. Latte, of the German translation: the French original first appeared in 1899.—Dec. 6. Margaret B. O'Connor, *Religion in the Plays of Sophocles* [Menasha, Wisconsin: Banta, 1923] (W. C. Greene). A Chicago dissertation: a useful study, but containing little that is new: badly printed.—Dec. 13. M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion: Translated from the Swedish by F. J. Fielden* [Oxford University Press, 1925] (W. S. Fox). Highly praised for learning, caution, and sanity.

[The issues of December 6 and 13 contain lists of articles on classical subjects in non-classical periodicals.]

MUSÉE BELGE. XXX. No. 4. Oct., 1926.

J. Hubaux, *Ovidiana I. Ovide et Sappho*. Carcopino not justified in using Plin. *N.H.* XXII. 20 to support Cumont's view that the Porta Maggiore Basilica belonged to a Neopythagorean sect. In Ovid *Her.* XV. several motives seem borrowed from Sappho: his sources for Phaon purely literary, not Pythagorean. Artist of bas-relief may have used Ovid. A. Roersch, *Une lettre inconnue de Nicolas Clénard*. Dedication to Columbus' son of Livy I, Salamanca 1533: published by de Carvalho, Coimbra, 1926. N. Vulic, *Les Celtes dans le Nord de la Péninsule balkanique*. Examines sources for 4th B.C., invasions of Mac. and Greece, and Roman wars with Scordisci.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Allen (T. W.) *Greek Abbreviation in the Fifteenth Century*. Pp. 11; 3 plates. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy.) London: Milford. Paper, 2s. 6d. net.

Barone (M.) *Studi sul significato fondamentale dell'accusativo e sulla teoria localistica*. Pp. 140. Rome: Befani, 1926. Paper, 20 lire.

Bibliothek Warburg: *Vorträge*, 1923-1924. Herausgegeben von F. Saxl. Pp. 277. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Stiff paper, 12 R.-M.

Boll (F.) *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*. 3. Aufl. herausg. v. W. Gundel. Pp. xii+205; illustrations. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 11 R.-M. (bound, 13.60).

Borucki (J.) *Seneca philosophus quam habeat auctoritatem in aliorum scriptorum locis affrendis*. Pp. 53. Borna-Leipzig: R. Noske, 1926. Paper.

Bury (R. G.) *Plato, with an English translation*. X. *Laws*. In 2 volumes. II.: Pp. 582. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.

Carnoy (A.) *La Science du Mot. Traité de Sémantique*. Pp. vii+426. Louvain: Editions 'Universitas,' 1927. Paper.

Classical Philology. Vol. XXI, No. 4. October, 1926.

Declercq (J.) *Rome the Law-giver*. Pp. xvi+400. (The History of Civilization.) London: Kegan Paul, 1927. Cloth, 16s. net.

Deserrari (R. J.) *St. Basil: The Letters*. With an English translation. In 4 volumes. I.: Pp. iv+366. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.

De Ruggiero (E.) *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, Fasc. 140. Vol. IV., Fasc. 3. Interamna Nahars—Italia. Pp. 65-96. Rome: Soc. An. Editrice Sapientia, 1926. Paper.

Diehl (E.) *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*. Vol. II., fasc. 5. Pp. 321-400. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 3.75 M.

Fairclough (H. R.) *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. With an English translation. Pp. xxx+509. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.

Ferrabino (A.) *L'impero ateniese*. Pp. 470. Turin: Bocca, 1927. Paper, 58 lire.

Foster (B. O.) *Livy, with an English translation*. Vol. IV., Books VIII.-X. Pp. x+571. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.

Freese (J. H.) *Aristotle, with an English translation. The 'Art' of Rhetoric*. Pp. xlvi+492. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.

Godley (A. D.) *Reliquiae*. Edited by C. R. L. Fletcher. Vol. I., pp. xvii+352; Vol. II., pp. 369. Oxford: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 18s. net.

Groen (N.) *Lexicon Anthimeum*. Pp. 103. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1926. Stiff paper.

Grose (S. W.) *Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*. Vol. II.: The Greek Mainland, the Aegean Islands, Crete. Pp. 563; plates 112-248. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. 10s. net.

- Herter (H.)** *De dis Atticis Priapi similibus.* Pp. 64. Bonn: Scheur, 1926. Paper.
- Hewart of Bury (Lord).** *The Classics.* Pp. 33. Manchester: University Press, 1926. Boards, 1s. 6d. net.
- Homo (L.)** *Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism.* Pp. xv+371; 13 maps and plans. (The History of Civilization.) London: Kegan Paul, 1927. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Jones (H. S.)** *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.* By members of the British School at Rome. Edited by H. Stuart Jones. Pp. xxiii+407; 124 plates (in a separate volume). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Text, 31s. 6d.; plates, 84s.; two vols. together, 100s.
- Juret (A. C.)** *Système de la Syntaxe latine.* Pp. 428. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. Fasc. 34.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres' (London: Milford), 1926. Paper, 10s. 6d. net.
- Kaerst (J.)** *Geschichte des Hellenismus.* 2. Band. *Das Wesen des Hellenismus.* 2. Auflage. Pp. xii+409. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 18 M.; bound, 20 M.
- Ker (W. C. A.)** *Cicero, Philippics.* With an English translation. Pp. xii+656. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.
- Kluge (E.)** *Optatianus Porfyrius. Carmina.* Edidit E. K. Pp. xxxii+92. (Bibl. Scr. Graec. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 3.20 M.; bound, 4 M.
- Knorringa (H.)** *Emporos. Data on trade and trader in Greek literature from Homer to Aristotle.* Pp. 144. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1926. Paper.
- Lake (K.)** *Eusebius. The Ecclesiastical History.* With an English translation. In 2 volumes. I.: Pp. lvi+525. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.
- Little (A. G.)** *Some Recently Discovered Franciscan Documents and their Relations to the Second Life by Celano and the Speculum Perfectionis.* Pp. 32. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy.) London: Milford. Paper, 3s. net.
- Moseley (N.)** *Characters and Epithets. A study in Vergil's Aeneid.* Pp. 104+liv. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Milford), 1926. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Nyström (G.)** *Variatio sermonis hos Columella.* Pp. ix+116. (Doktorsavhandlingar i Latinsk Filologi vid Göteborgs Högskola.) Göteborg: Eranos' Förlag, 1926. Paper.
- Pais (E.)** *Histoire romaine. Tome I. : Des Origines à l'Achèvement de la Conquête (133 avant J.-C.).* Fasc. 1. Adapté d'après le manuscrit italien par J. Bayet. Pp. xxii+144. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1926. Paper, 12 fr. 50.
- Petrie (A.)** *An Introduction to Roman History, Literature, and Antiquities.* Pp. 126; illustrations. London: Milford, 1926. Cloth, 2s. 6d.
- Philippart (H.)** *Les Thèmes mythiques des 'Bacchantes.'* A propos de l'*'Enigme des Bacchantes.'* Pp. 19+7. (Extraits de la *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles.*) Brussels: M. Weissenbruch. Paper.
- Porsig (W.)** *Die attische Tragödie des Aischylos.* Pp. 216. (Staat und Geist, Band III.) Leipzig: E. Wiegandt, 1926. Paper.
- Rackham (H.)** *Aristotle. The Nicomachean Ethics.* With an English translation. Pp. xxvi+643. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net; leather, 12s. 6d. net.
- Richardson (L. J. D.)** *Tā 'Iṣāq, being a Herodotean account of the Indian Mutiny.* Pp. 38. Oxford: Blackwell, 1926. Paper, 2s. 6d. net.
- Sirius.** Rundschau der gesamten Sternforschung. II. Heft. November, 1926.
- Steele (R.)** *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi.* Fasc. VII. *Questiones supra undecimum Prime Philosophie Aristotelis (Metaphysica XII.) primae et secundae.* Nunc primum edidit R. S. collaborante F. M. Delorme. Pp. xii+160. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Paper, 10s. 6d. net.
- Svennung (J.)** *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani liber quartus decimus de veterinaria medicina.* Pp. xxviii+93. (Collectio Scriptorum Veterum Upsaliensis.) Göteborg: Eranos' Förlag, 1926. Paper, 4.25 kr.
- Tabachovitz (D.)** Sprachliche und Textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor. Pp. viii+72. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1926. Paper.
- Täubler (E.)** *Tyche. Historische Studien.* Pp. 240. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 10 M.; bound, 12.50 M.
- The Journal of Roman Studies.* Vol. XVI., Part I. 1926.
- The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1925-1926. Edited by D. S. Robertson. Pp. x+131. Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1926. Paper, 3s. 6d. net.
- Valley (G.)** *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Longus.* Pp. vii+110. Uppsala: Edv. Berling, 1926. Paper.
- Van Westrheene (P. A.)** *Oedipus Rex. Muziek.*
- Von Arnim (H.)** Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der aristotelischen Politik. Pp. 130. Die drei aristotelischen Ethiken. Pp. 142. Arius Didymus' Abriss der peripatetischen Ethik. Pp. 161. (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Sph 200/1, 202/2, 204/3.) Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder - Pichler - Tempsky, 1924-6. Paper, M. 3.30, 4.50, 5.
- Walston (Waldstein) (C.)** *Alcamenes and the Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art.* Pp. xx+254; 208 figures, 24 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Buckram, 30s. net.
- Wifstrand (A.)** *Studien zur Griechischen Anthologie.* Pp. 87. (Lunds Universitets Års-skrift. N. F. Avd. 1, Bd. 23, Nr. 3.) Lund: Gleerup (Leipzig: Harrassowitz), 1926. Paper, 2 kr. 50 öre.
- Zielinski (T.)** *The Religion of Ancient Greece. An outline.* Translated by G. R. Noyes. Pp. x+235. London: Milford, 1926. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

The Classical Review

MAY, 1927

NOTES AND NEWS

From C. B. :

'A Cambridge Greek play always gives the impression of a real conviction of the value and importance of the performance: the cast knows what a tragedy is, can plumb its thought and emotion, and is conscious all through that it is handling a great work of literature. This gives a sincerity to its work which would compensate, if necessary, for technical deficiencies. The *Electra* of 1927 was no exception to the rule. Mr. Sheppard's article in the *Classical Review* had prepared us for the interpretation he intended to take, and, if one sometimes felt that it was a little too psychological and modern, it was always deeply impressive. This was largely due to an unusually fine performance of Mr. A. R. Watkins as Electra: he sustained the whole play on his shoulders and was always its centre: his speaking of the Greek was nearly perfect, dignified yet never "stagey" or unnatural. If there was a slight monotony at times, it was partly inevitable, partly due to an interpretation which did not allow of much light and shade. Of the other characters, the Paedagogus kept a high level and was full of character; his delivery of the "chariot-speech" was a fine piece of vigour well under control. Orestes had great moments, and Chrysothemis did her best with a rather thankless part: Clytemnestra and Aegisthus were less convincing and seemed as if they had not time to get into their stride.

'A "modernist" reading of the play demands a "modern" setting, and this was supplied both by Mr. Denis Arundel's music—a hard nut for an amateur to crack at first hearing—and by the scenery and dresses, the latter perhaps in some cases a little too startlingly "Mycenaean" in shape and violent in colouring.

'The "comic relief" of the *Peace* formed a delightful termination to the performance, and though Aristophanes' wit was a good deal lost in buffoonery, it was first-class buffoonery, and Trygaeus would have been an asset to any pantomime cast.

'Greek plays do not draw the audiences they did, but it is devoutly to be hoped that Cambridge will be able to keep them going: they are a very real contribution to the understanding and vitality of Classical Literature. When, by the way, will someone have the courage to produce one in the reformed pronunciation? It would be very interesting to hear.'

Seldom do a man's literary remains portray him so fully and truly as A. D. Godley's *Reliquiae*, edited by Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher, and published in two volumes by the Clarendon Press. Those who knew Godley will have bought the book at once, and others will already have been led to it by notices in the daily and weekly papers; there is no need for a formal review of it in this place.

Of his editorship of the *Classical Review* we are told less than could be wished. The office did not suit him very well, but he did the work with a gay tolerance of scholars whose interest in learning was wider or deeper than his own. Once he broke out into an ironical attack upon certain kinds of grammatical research (Vol. XXVII., p. 266); indiscreet, to be sure, but not quite so licentious as might be gathered from this book, for 'the possibly wounded Wundt' was not (with all respect to Mr. Fletcher) a figment of Godley's brain.

There is work for the emender on p. 22 of Vol. I., in the English version of some jolly iambics on Jebb's Sophocles: 'and set at every time an

English cab.' The Greek is 'Αγγλικὴν δ' ἐκάστοτε ἔθηκεν ἑρμήνευσιν.

The literary activity of Wilamowitz during recent years almost reconciles his friends in all lands to that stroke of the abhorred shears of Time which severed his official connexion with the University of Berlin. Not the least welcome, because the most intimate and self-revealing, of the many works of his retirement, are the two volumes of *Reden und Vorträge* (1925 and 1926), into which the single-volume third edition of 1913 has grown. The new volumes are essentially a new work; in them the doyen of living Greek scholars ranges, often convincingly and always interestingly, over a large variety of topics as widely separated as 'The Nature of Translation' (no longer recognisable as the Introduction to his *Hippolytos*), 'Pindar,' 'The Decline and Fall of the Ancient World,' and 'The Transfiguration.' Of special interest to British scholars, and characteristic of a vitality that is uncanny, is the footnote to the title of a well-remembered lecture de-

livered in Oxford in 1908: 'Es ist wenig von dem Alten geblieben.'

After Latin pronunciation, Greek. On January 10, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, a journal not unlike our own *Discovery*, gave a preliminary survey of the habits of various countries in pronouncing Greek: Reuchlinian and Erasmian, itacistic and etacistic, accentual and quantitative, and so forth. The author, Dr. E. Drerup, seems to be ill acquainted with the practice of our islands; and information on our differences in the treatment of the vowels, and on attempts at reform, would doubtless be 'zweckdienliche Mitteilungen,' such as he wishes to receive, with a view to further study of the subject, at St. Annastraat 93, Nymwegen, Holland. If he consults the *Morning Post* for the second half of February he will find some letters evoked by the suggestion that we should pronounce ancient Greek as the modern language is pronounced—a suggestion that did not deserve many weighty replies.

ΤΑ Τ' ΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΑ.

THE END OF SOPHOCLES' *ELECTRA*.

In the recent performance at Cambridge of Sophocles' *Electra* we were given an atmosphere that closely resembled the close of the *Electra* of Euripides, in accordance with the interpretation of the play given by Mr. J. T. Sheppard in the February number of the *Classical Review*. The stage became dark, till we could see scarcely anything save the bier on which lay the dead body of Clytaemnestra; Orestes and Electra were full not merely of horror at the deed that had been committed, but apparently at the apprehension of the fate in store for them; we were led to suppose that the Chorus were hopelessly out of their reckoning when they used the words

δι' ἐλευθερίας μόλις ἐξῆλθες
τῇ νῦν ὄρμῇ τελεωθέν.

The vague words of Aegisthus in 1498 (*τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα Πελοπιδῶν κακά*)

were stressed as implying that the Furies of Aeschylus or of Euripides were still to haunt the matricides. It is a meaning that is in accord with our own feeling about the deed; but is it what Sophocles meant? And if he meant it, would he not have been sacrificing artistic for moral considerations? Is it natural for a writer, who intended each play to be complete in itself, to close with so indefinite a hint?

The phrase *τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα* seems to have been familiar; Euripides has it twice (*Ion* 7, *Helena* 14); where it is used, there seems to be no great stress on the second participle, which is linked closely with the first by the absence of a second definite article. The phrase need not mean more to Aegisthus than that as the house had seen *τὰ ὄντα* (the death of Clytaemnestra, lying there dead before him), so it should see his own. Again, is

there any other example of a Sophoclean Chorus being falsified in their expectations, when the play itself does not subsequently correct their false surmise? The Chorus expect that Oedipus will be found to have had a glorious birth, but they are completely disillusioned at the close of the tragedy. In this play some scholars, including Mr. J. T. Sheppard, suppose them to be mistaken in 488 in saying that vengeance will come πολύπους καὶ πολύχειρ; but could not this mean 'with might of foot and hand,' i.e. 'swift to pursue and strong to strike'?

We need not have any doubt that Sophocles felt the horror of the matricide as keenly as his modern audience. But he had his own method of dealing with it. He cannot escape the fact, if he was to deal with the story at all, and he deliberately goes back to a more Homeric version of the story, concentrating our attention on the vengeance to be inflicted on Aegisthus rather than on the Queen. The other two tragedians have reserved the murder of Clytaemnestra for the climax of the play; Sophocles makes the arrest and execution of Aegisthus the crown of the whole. Throughout the play it is never said in so many words that Clytaemnestra is to be killed. It is presumably part of Orestes' plan, though he quotes the oracle as if it had only told him that he was to secure his righteous vengeance by stealth and without the aid of an armed force; but in announcing the nature of the plot to the Paedagogus he seems to hesitate as though there were something he did not like to say. In line 35 he says χρῆ μοι τοιαῦθ' ὁ Φοῖβος ὡν πεύσει τάχα, and τάχα means 'now,' not 'anon': it is used of an immediate announcement in Aesch. *Eum.* 454 and Eur. *Hel.* 1512. But what is the Paedagogus told that he does not know? It was perfectly well known to him that he had not come with an army, and that there was a plot; he even knew that the urn was concealed in the bushes (55). The advice to the Paedagogus that he shall find entrance to the house and tell the story of the disaster in the chariot-race appears to be not the injunction of the oracle, but Orestes' interpretation of the form

that the δόλος enjoined by the oracle should take.

Electra never speaks as though the murder of her mother were definitely contemplated. In 603 she admits Clytaemnestra's charge that she was rearing Orestes as an avenger of blood for her crime; but the death of Aegisthus, not necessarily of Clytaemnestra, would make this true. When she tells Chrysothemis what she proposes, it is the death of Aegisthus, and that alone: οὐδὲν γάρ σε δεῖ κρύπτειν μ' ἔτι; this seems to show what she meant in 603-5, though to Clytaemnestra she is naturally less explicit. She comes nearest to a definite contemplation of her mother's death, as having been possible while Orestes yet lived, when she speaks of Eriphyle's fate in 844, but even then the word she used is ἐδάμη, a word which may mean 'kill,' but need only mean 'overpower,' and if Clytaemnestra is dethroned and Aegisthus is removed, her power to hurt is gone. When they go into the house she must know what is in store, but she has said no more than that Clytaemnestra is in the house. It is the Paedagogus who demands instant action because the Queen is alone, and it is the only time that we hear her name in the play.

And lastly the Chorus. They are not tied by any kinship to the murderers of Agamemnon, and they say that the vengeance will include the Queen with Aegisthus, but even they will not definitely say that she is to be killed. 'A portent that will not be without cause for grief will come on doer and accomplice' (Sophocles does not say which is which): this is the menace in 495, and in 1080 they say that Electra is ready to leave the light of day, could she but quell (so Jebb translated ἐλοῦσ') the two Furies. The Chorus here have used, as Electra does in 844, a word which can mean 'kill,' but need not mean more than 'overpower.'

So we are never allowed to dwell on the matricide before it comes. It is a dark shadow—the story demanded that it should be there—but the vengeance is directed, so far as we are allowed to think of it beforehand, mainly against Aegisthus. Everything is done to alienate our sympathies from the

mother ; she has seemed to pray for the death of her son, and after hearing of it she gloats over Electra's sorrow and powerlessness. Her one touch of human feeling (770-1) is quickly forgotten, and she shows nothing of the kindly feeling and weak goodnature of the Euripidean Clytaemnestra. But Sophocles is as well aware as we are of the horror involved in the fact that such a woman as Electra should connive at her death. He has emphasised just before the awful scene the tender affection that the sister has for the brother ; the long lyrical scene after the recognition has had its object in the play in emphasising the true character of Electra. Unlike the Euripidean Electra she is not present at the murder, she does not guide her brother's hand ; but her triumphant cries while the deed of blood is being enacted are the most poignant thing in the play. That the Electra, whom we have seen a few minutes before lavishing her love on her brother, should utter these cries is a greater tragedy than Clytaemnestra's death. It is the bad side of a good character ; she had hated much because she had loved much—the dead father and the living brother. But it is this combination that makes her so interesting a character ; in fact, such a blend is necessary to the play. Had she been wholly violent, we should have been merely repelled by her ; had she been wholly tender, the murder would not have taken place.

How did the brother and sister feel after the guilty pair had been killed ? Sophocles does not tell us. But their mood at the end of the play does not suggest life-long remorse. It was a horrible deed to kill their mother, and their silence before has shown it to be so to them. But when her mother has been killed, Electra is at once ready to assist in leading Aegisthus on to his

doom, and her remaining speeches show bitter sarcasm and vindictive hate. Orestes' nearest approach to hesitation about the righteousness of his act is in his words *εἰ καλῶς ἔθέσπισεν* (1425) ; but his attitude through the last scene is that of a stern but unquestioning minister of a righteous penalty. For years past their mother had been a mother to them only in name. Electra had suffered every conceivable ignominy at home. Orestes was to all intents an exile. Neither of them had any but bitter memories.

Sophocles does not tell us how much the oracle had enjoined. It had informed Orestes that the vengeance had to be executed by stealth, and (unless he is deliberately misquoting) it had said that the vengeance was righteous ; but we are not told whether it had said that both the guilty pair were to be executed ; the apparent hesitation of Orestes at 35 suggests that it had, and *εἰ καλῶς ἔθέσπισεν* would lose much of its force if he had gone beyond what the god prescribed. But whether Delphi had ordered it or not, Orestes and Electra feel that they are performing a sacred duty ; as Abraham would have offered up Isaac, as Jephthah sacrificed his daughter (both innocent victims instead of hideously guilty), they discharge what they think a solemn obligation to all that was most hallowed. The claims of the dead father are paramount with Electra. Sophocles leaves unsolved the moral questions that the story involves, but he creates one of the most interesting characters in drama with its blend of apparently opposing traits. When Hamlet turned from his gentle nature at the malicious prompting of the ghost, he left a world in ruins by his acts. Of what Electra and Orestes felt afterwards we may form our own conjecture, but the poet gives us no clue.

A. S. OWEN.

THE ELEGIACS OF SIMYLOS.

Τὴν δ' οὐτάρ Βοΐοι τε καὶ θύρα μυρία Κελτῶν
χηρόμενοι ρεθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου·
δύλα δ' ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
κούρῃ ἐπὶ στυγερῷ κόσμον ἔθεντο φνον.

Plutarch, *Vita Romuli*, Ch. XVII.

THE first stanza of the lines quoted above has invariably been wrongly interpreted or translated, and this has prompted the following explanation of the lines in question.

The difficulty seems to lie in the words *ρειθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου*. Before quoting Simulos, Plutarch tells us that 'Simulos talks nonsense when he says that it was not the Sabines but the Gauls to whom Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, because she loved their king.' He then quotes two other stanzas to substantiate this, the second of which runs as follows :

Κελῶν δι στέρκασα γαμήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
σκηνοτύχῳ πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.

With this information at our disposal, viz. that Tarpeia hoped to marry Tatius, and, as that implies, go with him to his own kingdom, the usual translation of the verses under discussion seems devoid of any sense. I quote Perrin's version in the Loeb edition, which is representative of the majority of translators :

Her the Boii and the myriad tribes of Gaul
Did not, exulting, cast amid the currents of
the Po;
But hurled the shields from their belligerent
arms

Upon the hateful maid, and made their orna-
ment her doom.

The last thing Tarpeia expected was to be cast amid the currents of the Po, so what force can such a rendering have? What she did expect was to marry Tatius and go with him to Gaul, and

the natural sense of the passage should be more or less of this nature—the Gauls did not keep their promise, but killed her. Obviously *ρειθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου* cannot be cast amid the currents of the Po. *ἐντὸς* here must have the sense of *within the confines of* or *on this side*. Within the streams of the Po must mean on the Gauls' side of the Po, the refuge Tarpeia hoped to gain after betraying the Capitol. Making use of this explanation, one can render the lines of Simulos in such a way as to give some intelligible significance.

'Her the Boii and the countless tribes of Gaul, in (after) their triumph, did not place (in safety) within the confines of the Po, but hurled the shields from their bloodthirsty arms upon the girl they loathed, and made their ornament her doom.'

The MSS. offer no variant for *ἐντὸς*, so there can be little doubt about the correctness of the word. An obvious conjecture would be *ἔκτος* = *beyond*, which would give the same interpretation, and which has probably occurred to others who have tried to read sense into this passage. The reading *χειράμενοι* is explained by the pronunciation of the thirteenth - fourteenth century *ει = ε = η*.

T. LE ROUX.

ΣΤΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΙ.

ALTHOUGH *σὺν πολλῷ* standing by itself as an adverbial phrase is cited from no classical author, there is good reason to suppose that it was so used by Heliodorus in the *Aethiopica*. This would not be suspected by a reader, because on the one occasion on which editors have had no MS. authority for altering the phrase they have remedied the imagined defect by emendation. But they either did not know or considered it unimportant that in addition to the one passage where all the MSS. give *σὺν πολλῷ* alone there are two other passages where all the important MSS. hand down the same phrase.

The passages in question are—

(i) Bk. II. 8 (Teub., p. 45. 23-5) :
ἔλαθεν ἑταιρικὴν ζηλοτυπίαν σὺν πολλῷ
καθ' ἑαυτῆς κινήσασα, καὶ πλέον κ.τ.λ.,

given thus by all the MSS. except M(onacensis 157), which adds *τῷ φθόνῳ* after *κινήσασα*, and a Turin MS. (T)¹ and three identical Paris MSS. (Δ),² which have *τῷ ἔρωτι* after *πολλῷ*.

(ii.) Bk. IX. 20 (Teub., p. 265. 4-8) :
ὑπό τε ἵππων . . . ὀθούμενοι σὺν πολλῷ μετεμάθανον ὡς τὸ δοκοῦν στρατήγημα τοῦ σατράπου πρὸς ἐναντίου σφίσιν ἦν καὶ ἀσκεπτον. σὺν πολλῷ alone is given by all the MSS. except M, which has *τῷ θράσει* after *πολλῷ*, and T and F (a Florence MS.),³ which add the single word *φθόνῳ* in the same position.

(iii.) Bk. X. 9 (Teub., p. 281. 28-9) : All the MSS. give *ώς ἀθλία καὶ δυστυχῆς*

¹ Taurinensis Graecus, B. III. 29.

² Parisini Graeci 2904, 2906, and 2907.

³ Laurentianus Graecus 36.

ἡ κόρη σὺν πολλῷ καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς καιρὸν τῇ σωφροσύνῃ σεμνυνομένῃ.

In printed texts M's readings have always appeared, being handed down from the first edition, of which M was the source. In the third passage, where M provides no noun in agreement with *πολλῷ*, the solitary *σὺν πολλῷ* was allowed to stand until Coraes proposed the emendation *σὺν πολλῷ τῷ κακῷ οὐδὲ*, which is reprinted in the Teubner text.¹ But in the light of the other two passages emendation in (iii.) seems unjustifiable. There are two substantial reasons for believing that the archetype in (i.) and (ii.), as well as in (iii.), had *σὺν πολλῷ* alone:

(a) All the old and reputable MSS. support it.

(b) The MSS. which make additions in neither case agree as to the word to be added and in the first case not even as to its position.

The MSS. of Heliodorus have never been fully classified, but the partial classification put forward in *Class. Quart.* XIX. (1925), pp. 177 ff., seems to be true in the main, though some additions and some modifications are necessary. Out of more than twenty extant MSS. only six or seven are of real value, while the rest, when they are not simply copies, are full of interpolations. There can be little doubt that Δ, F and T belong to the latter category. They are all sixteenth century MSS., providing innumerable readings peculiar to themselves, which cannot, on any reasonable interpretation of the evidence as a whole, be assumed to be derived from anything but interpolation or corruption. Nor is the case of M much better.² It is older (fifteenth century), but, like the others, full of peculiar readings, mostly bad, which cannot be part of an ancient tradition. It follows that readings of M, as of Δ, F or T, when not supported by any reliable MS., are open to grave suspicion. They may sometimes be attempted emendations, even plausible emendations, but they are to be treated

¹ Hirschig (*Erotici Scriptores*, p. 394) prints a different conjecture of his own.

² The value of M is overestimated in *Class. Quart.*, loc. cit. A complete collation has shown that it is extremely erratic.

in that light, and not as ancient evidence. That the hand of the emender has been at work in these particular passages seems clear because of the variety of additions. Surely this variety is due to independent conjecture on the part of different scribes or readers who have been puzzled by the unfamiliar phrase *σὺν πολλῷ* standing by itself.

If it is assumed that the archetype contained nouns in agreement, it is impossible to explain how it was that all the good MSS. of both families³ came to make the same mistake on three different occasions. Again, if it is assumed that the archetype omitted them, but omitted them wrongly, we are asked to believe that the archetype made the same improbable error on three different occasions. Since the latter is incredible and the former inexplicable, the only assumption left is that Heliodorus did actually write *σὺν πολλῷ* by itself; and this assumption does not involve great difficulties. The phrase is not to be explained as a colloquialism, for the Greek of Heliodorus is not colloquial; but it is consciously modelled on that of the classical authors, and in them Heliodorus would find ample support for coining the phrase *σὺν πολλῷ*, if coin it he did.

(i.) There is the common use in Attic Greek of *σὺν* with a noun as the equivalent of an adverb (e.g. *σὺν δίκῃ* = *δικαίως*); and the use of *πολύ* as a noun would make the phrase *σὺν πολλῷ* all the easier on this analogy.

(ii.) There is the parallel use of *σὺν πεγάλῳ* in Homer, *Iliad* IV. 161:

Ἐκ τε καὶ δύὲ τελεῖ, σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτεισα
σὺν σφῆσιν κεφαλῆσι γυναιξὶ τε καὶ τεκέσισι.

It appears, therefore, that Heliodorus uses the phrase *σὺν πολλῷ* adverbially, with the result that it is practically equivalent to the adverbial use of *πολύ*. Accordingly its meaning takes colour from the context, so that a literal translation of the three passages in question would be:

(i.) 'Unwittingly she stirred up against herself lover's jealousy *in no small degree . . .*'

³ For evidence for the families see *Class. Quart.*, loc. cit.

(ii.) 'Harried by horses . . . they decidedly learnt, contrary to their former impression, that the seeming stratagem of the Satrap was to their disadvantage and ill-considered.'

(iii.) 'How wretched and unfortunate the girl is, who glories in her chastity'

so much and at such an inconvenient season!'

The last passage best illustrates the usage. For *σὺν πολλῷ* and *οὐδὲ εἰς καιρὸν* are two adverbial expressions qualifying *σεμνυνομένη* and coupled together by *καὶ*.

R. M. RATTENBURY.

LIVIA AND TANAQUIL.

ANYONE who reads the account that Tacitus gives of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius¹ must be struck by the interesting parallel between it and the passage wherein Livy describes the manner in which Servius Tullius was brought to the throne.² In both narratives a child in the royal family (though not in the direct natural succession) climbs to power through the agency and support of the queen, who conceals the death of her husband until the succession of the new heir is secured. It has been suggested that there might be some connection between the two stories, and that Tacitus may have allowed a memory of Tanaquil to influence his own account. I do not regard this as probable, but I should like to draw attention to an even more striking parallel, in the description which Tacitus himself gives of the accession of Nero.³ Here the similarity is so great that it can scarcely be regarded as accidental: the reigning emperor (Augustus, Claudius) has been persuaded to adopt a stepson (Tiberius, Nero) as his heir: towards the end of his reign he appears to show signs of remorse and a desire to reinstate the dispossessed heir (Agrippa Postumus, Britannicus); the empress-mother (Livia, Agrippina the younger) is alarmed for the safety of the scheme for which she has so long planned, and decides to put her husband out of the way; the emperor dies suddenly, but the news of his death is kept concealed until the accession of the stepson has been made certain.

Now it is always possible to work literary parallels too hard: succession scandals and concealed deaths are the

commonest stock-in-trade of all court history; the same sort of tale is narrated about Hadrian's accession,⁴ and only a few months ago the press tried to make our flesh creep with the news that King Ferdinand of Roumania was dead, but that his death was being kept secret for political purposes. Aurelius Victor notes the parallel between Servius Tullius and Nero—he is rather inclined to such comparisons⁵—but curiously enough disregards that between Tiberius and Nero. Yet the similarity is extraordinarily close, and it is worth while looking for an explanation.

Of course, for those who believe that Livia poisoned Augustus in order to win the throne for her own son Tiberius no explanation is needed: the thing happened so, and there's an end of it. I have, however, already tried to demonstrate the utter absurdity and baselessness of such a notion;⁶ it is merely part and parcel of the ridiculous *canard* that Augustus was prepared to recall Agrippa Postumus from his well-merited banishment, and the whole tale is a tissue of improbabilities from start to finish. Even Tacitus can only report most of it as uncertain rumour; Suetonius⁷ explicitly denies it; Dio

¹ *Vita Hadriani*, 4; Dio Cass. LXIX. I. 3.

² Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, IV. 13 and cf. XI. 12.

³ See my article in *Amer. Journ. Philology*, Vol. XLIV., 1923, pp. 145 ff., which deals fully with the question. Both Gardthausen (*Augustus I. 1252 ff.*) and von Domaszewski (*Gesch. der Röm. Kaiser*, p. 248) believed the story, but Groag (*Pauly-Wissowa*, VI. 1785) rejects it, and Dessau can now say (*Gesch. der Röm. Kaiserzeit*, I. p. 477): 'Über die Unglaubwürdigkeit dieses Gerüchts ist kein Wort zu verlieren.' I am glad to see that Willrich in a recent article, 'Augustus bei Tacitus,' agrees entirely (*Hermes*, 1927, pp. 74-79). But such fables die hard.

⁴ Suetonius, *Aug.* 98, 5, and *Tib.* 21. 1.

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 5.

² Livy I. 41.

³ Tacitus, *Annals*, XII. 68.

wavers and then (as usual) comes down on the wrong side of the fence.¹ We can be reasonably certain, however, that Augustus never contemplated a reconciliation with Agrippa, and we can be quite sure that he never went on any voyage to Planasia to see him, either with or without the knowledge of Livia. The whole story is merely a malicious invention, though not an invention of Tacitus. The accession of Tiberius was perfectly secure, and Livia had no need to poison her aged husband; it is Suetonius who gives us the truest narrative of the course of events.

But once this is granted we must face the question—'Why was Tacitus ready to blacken the character of Livia, or to believe in her guilt, in this way?' This is only one among many instances, and if we can find a reasonable explanation for this, it may throw some light on the way in which Tacitus approached the history of the early Principate. It was not, I think, through any reminiscence of Tanaquil, for that legendary queen is treated throughout with great politeness by her chroniclers, as a woman of coolness and resource, devoted to the cause of her husband and children. Her name has no sinister connotation, she is not looked upon as a plotter or schemer: indeed, Seneca can belaud her *rara inter feminas virtus*,² while Plutarch praises her for her presence of mind and her *σύνεσις*.³ To suggest that Livia was like Tanaquil would be a poor way of damaging her reputation and mere *praevaricatio*.

But if Tacitus intends no reference to Tanaquil, I think we can be quite certain that when he wrote his account of the death of Augustus he was influenced by the tales he had read of the actions of the younger Agrippina. There can be little doubt that this ambitious and masterful woman really did poison her husband Claudius when the time seemed ripe for the accession of her son Nero, and then kept back the news of his death until Nero could be acclaimed by the praetorians and escorted to the Senate. Her personality

and her crimes had made a deep impression upon Tacitus: the books wherein she appears contain some of the most brilliant of his writing, and we must remember that among the sources for the history of the period upon which he drew was the History of the Elder Pliny, which (as Ciaceri has recently shown)⁴ painted Agrippina in very dark colours indeed. But wherever there was a source unfavourable to the Caesars—and this body of literature must have been considerable—Tacitus was by nature and experience inclined to accept it. Brought up as he had been under the autocracy of Domitian, he had seen the lowest depths to which a servile Senate could descend, and had known the fearfulness of life under a suspicious and cruel ruler.⁵ Hence it is characteristic of him to read back into earlier days the savagery and excesses that he had himself witnessed. He does not falsify, he is not purposely malicious, but his own bitter experience and the tradition he had before him so worked upon his mind that he was prepared to find in the early Principate the tyranny to which Domitian had eventually transformed it. It is this prejudice which causes him to give the extraordinary caricature of Augustus' life and achievements which stands at the beginning of his *Annals*, where the beneficent rule of that emperor is branded as *dominatio*—a word previously used of the Sullan régime: this makes him view the introduction of trials for *maiestas* with a horror that seems strange when we remember how moderately Tiberius used that weapon, but for Tacitus Tiberius is as cruel and suspicious as the Domitian who studied his memoirs so carefully; this accounts also for the unusual portrait of Livia as a scheming and imperious nature, endowed with all the unscrupulousity of an Agrippina.⁶ Our other

¹ Ciaceri, 'Claudio e Nerone nelle Storie di Plinio,' pp. 387-434 of his *Processi Politici*.

² The opening of the *Agricola* is a famous instance of his hatred.

³ For this portrait of Augustus, see the *Annals* I. 1-4 and 9-10, and cp. Haverfield's remarks in *J.R.S.* II. p. 198; for the introduction of *maiestas* trials, see *Annals* I. 72; for Domitian's study of Tiberius' memoirs, see Suetonius, *Domit.* 20. Tacitus is practically alone in the portrait he draws of Livia.

¹ Dio Cass. LVI. 31.

Seneca, *de Matrimonio*, fr. 79.

Plutarch, *Mulierum Virtutes*, 24 3c and *Aetia Romana*, 36.

sources give a very different picture of her, as a kindly and dignified, though possibly rather dull, Roman matron, and the evidence for her poisoning of Augustus is nil; but Tacitus knew that there existed hostile rumours, and that sufficed. Livia in his eyes must have played the same part as Agrippina; just as the reign of Nero opened with the murder of a possible rival (*prima mors*) instigated by Agrippina, so Livia inaugurated Tiberius' reign by removing (*primum facinus*) Agrippa Postumus.¹

This is, I am aware, neither a particularly original nor a particularly exhilarating theory of the way in which Tacitus wrote, but I feel that it is worth restatement and consideration and that, so long as it is not ridden to death, it is the only satisfactory way of explaining a great deal in the *Annals*; it also saves us postulating either that malicious inventiveness, *l'hystérie du mensonge*,

¹ I find that Willrich, in the article referred to above, also notes the similarity of phrase: he deals fully with Tacitus' portrait of Augustus.

HERODOTUS AND WHAT BARBARIANS SAY.

HDT. I. 1 believes that the Phoenicians had migrated from the 'Red Sea' or southern ocean; VII. 89 repeats this, adding 'as they themselves say'—perhaps the priests of Heracles whom he questioned at Tyre (II. 44). In fact, they obligingly confirmed a preconception of his own, or he too readily understood them to confirm it.

Much speculation was caused (Strabo 38) by the semi-fabulous eight years' wanderings of Menelaus in *Od.* IV. 83 to Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, Ethiopia (described in *Od.* I. 23 as in two sections, west and east), the Sidonians, etc. The time seemed long; and who were the Sidonians thus separated from Phoenicia? Many, says Strabo—though he himself disagrees (39-40)—took the hero by various ways into the Indian Ocean, and proceeded to find on the Persian Gulf, 'or elsewhere on the ocean,' Eastern Sidonians, from whom the Phoenicians must have migrated (Str. 42).

Had not Herodotus this notion of the Homeric lines? His interest in them is obvious. In Egypt the priests have much to tell him on the authority of Menelaus himself (II. 112-120). There are two sections of Ethiopians in the Persian army (VII. 70), where δέξοι plainly recalls δέχθα δέδαιαραι. The eastern ones are like 'the others' except in language and in having straight, not woolly, hair. They are inserted in the Baluchistan satrapy (III. 94), where, as Providence supplies more or less

which Bacha discovered, or the mere rhetorical colouring and repetition of hackneyed themes which Spencer Jerome found. Such explanations, though exciting, are of little value, for they raise more difficulties than they solve, and above all they ignore the essential σεμνότης of Tacitus. It is hard to believe that a man in whom Pliny felt this quality could be a pure romancer: to assume however that he allowed his picture of the early Principate (wherein *imperium* and *libertas* were incompatible) to be coloured in darker hues because of his own bitter memories and because he found it so in his sources makes less demand upon our credulity, and makes clear why he nearly always chooses—when two conflicting traditions confront him—to accept the worse. At any rate it seems to me to offer a reasonable explanation for the parallelism in the accounts of the death of Augustus and Claudius, and that was the immediate object of my investigation.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

suitable blacks, they look real, till we learn that for shields they use crane-skins (VII. 70). Evidently they have their complement of Eastern Pygmies.

Later they vanish from these parts. It is Indian hair that is now contrasted with African (Str. 690), though Megasthenes can still produce Pygmies fighting cranes in India (Str. 711). But the Eastern Sidonians flourish. Alexander's officers find in the Persian Gulf islands of Tyros (or Tylos) and Arados temples 'looking like' Phoenician ones, and the natives say what they ought to say (766). Faced with this, Strabo hesitates (784, 44).

This Greek foible of making barbarians confirm Greek theory appears with engaging candour in Hdt. II. 104-106. He conceives that the Colchians are Egyptians, on good grounds, if they were really similar in language, etc.: both peoples have long practised circumcision, which was borrowed from them by some others, as these 'themselves say.' Ως δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἔγενετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους: the Colchians confirm it, and the Egyptians give him leave to take the multiple conqueror Sesostris almost anywhere, including Colchis.

J. O. THOMSON.

SOPHOCLES, OEDIPUS TYRANNUS, 1512 F.

THE difficulty here is to see how the words οὐ καὶρὸς ἔται, ζῆν in Jebb's text, and οὐ καὶρὸς αἰτὶ ζῆν in Pearson's, can form part of a prayer

(εὐχεσθε) either for the sisters (Jebb) or for Oedipus himself (Whitelaw).

I would suggest that εὐχεσθ' ἐμοί, which Dindorf gives, should be read: 'pray for me,' like Philoctetes 1019, δῶλο· καὶ σοι πολλάκις τόδι ηὔξαμν, and also εὖ for δεῖ, which Blaydes proposed, but subsequently abandoned. By this new combination we get a pointed sense:

νῦν δὲ τοιτέρη εὐχεσθ' ἐμοί,
οὐ καιρός, εὖ δῆν, τοῦ βίου δὲ λύφος
ἡμᾶς κυρήσαι τοῦ φυτεύσαντος πατρός.

R. E. MOORE.

EURIPIDES, ALCESTIS 340 FF.

σοφῆ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν
εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροις ἔκταθόσαι,
φροσπεγδούμαι καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας
δύομα καλών σὸν τὴν φύλην ἐν ἀγάλας
δύξω γυναῖκα κατέπερ οὐκέτι ἔχων ἔχειν.

So Euripides, *Alc.* 340 ff. Paley, after quoting Dindorf's remark, 'inuentum valde absurdum,' quietly adds: 'It may be so; but few passages contain a more tender pathos. The Greeks certainly had a much deeper feeling for sculptured forms than we can pretend to realise.' He was thinking, perhaps, of the numerous people, from Pygmalion down, who are said to have fallen in love with statues.³ But human nature, normal or abnormal, has changed but little since Euripides wrote; and the *Daily Mail* for March 7, 1927, and doubtless other newspapers as well, record the death of a man who behaved in a very similar manner. His name was Michael Kallosy, and he was a Hungarian of good family. Being refused marriage by the parents of a remarkably beautiful Jewess, he had a lifelike wax figure of her made, and for some time kept it in his flat and talked to it, until he was induced to take it with him into an asylum. Admetos, half-mad with grief and incipient remorse at the impending death of his wife, is represented as intending to do what Kallosy actually did in a rage of disappointed love. One need read no further than the *Medea* and the *Hippolytus* to learn that Euripides was interested in the morbid psychology of persons under the influence of strong passion of any sort, and knew more than a little concerning it.

H. J. ROSE.

TORTURE BY VINEGAR.

IN the *Frogs* Xanthias, having assumed the part of his master Dionysos, offered the latter, posing as his slave, to Aeacus for torture, καὶ πῶς βασανίσω; asks Aeacus. Xanthias replies (618):

πάντα τρόπον, ἐν κλίμακι
δῆσας κρεμάνας ὑστριχίδι μαστίγων, δέρων,
στρεψάνων, ἔτι δὲ τὰς μίνας ὥξος ἔγχεων,
πλίνθους ἐπιτίθεις, πάντα ταῦλλα, πλήν πράσφ
μὴ τύπτε τούτον μηδὲ γηρεία νέρ.

A fair offer, says Aeacus.

¹ So the word should be written; see Postgate, *Greek Accentuation*, p. 63.

² See, for instance, Athen. XIII. 605 ff.; Clem. Alex. *Protr.*, ch. 57.

It is perhaps worth while to draw attention to a parallel for the vinegar torture from a much later date in Egypt. In *P. Ross-Georg.* IV. ed. Gregor Zeretelli, p. 59, n. 16 (dated A.D. 710) we read l. 2 οὐκ ἔστιν | [τὸ σύνολον οὐδὲν ἄλλο β]ασανιστήριον ἀνίστοτο καὶ ἀργόν | [ἀποδίκνυντο τὸν βασανίζομ]ενον χείρων τοῦ λεπταρίου | μετὰ (καὶ) ὅδινον. διὰ τούτον] κελευσμεν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλωσιν τῶν παρόντων ἡμίν γραμ]άτων μὴ λεπταρισθῆναι τίνα. The conjectural supplements are made very probable by an earlier text (*Anhang*, p. 99, A.D. 619-620) l. 2 ἐβασάνισέν μοι αὐτὸν ὁδίτηριον καὶ μάρμαρον εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ εἰς τὴν ρῆν[[.]]αν.

It is therefore a real, not an imaginary, infliction, as πάντα ταῦλλα implies; the frivolous exception which is added meaning perhaps 'don't treat him as a φαρμακός' (the φ. was beaten with squills, wild figs, and other purifying plants: πράσον and γῆρειον are not mentioned as being applied to him, but were likewise thought purificatory;³ and Aristophanes is fond of jokes about φαρμακοῖ).

A. D. NOCK.

THE DATE OF THE SECOND PLATONIC EPISTLE.

MR. J. HARWARD, in the *Classical Review* for December, 1926, states that, 'if we accept both 2nd and 7th Epistles as genuine documents, the difficulties in the way of assigning the 2nd to the interval between Plato's second visit to Syracuse in 367-366 and the third visit in 361-360 really are insuperable.' I do not believe that these difficulties are insuperable, and I cannot see any likelihood that after Plato's experience in Syracuse on his third visit, as described in the 3rd and 7th Epistles, there should be any communication either way between Dionysius and Plato. Such an intimate letter as the 2nd seems entirely excluded. In the 3rd Epistle (318e) Plato speaks of the complete breach of relations (ἀκούωντα) between himself and Dionysius as due to his interference on behalf of Heracleides during his third visit. To my mind this is convincing proof that there was no communication between the two until the 3rd Epistle, which is not a private letter but a controversial document.

I give herewith an interpretation of the difficulties in the 2nd and 7th Epistles on which Mr. Harward bases his objection to my date (363 B.C.) for the 2nd Epistle. In the first place I do not suppose that the conversation under the laurels (II. 313a) included any formal instruction in philosophy. Plato, of course, had many conversations with Dionysius during the former visit. They contained admonition and advice of all sorts. We know, for instance, that Plato advised Dionysius to recolonise the Greek cities of Sicily (III. 319a) after going through a course of philosophic training. Plato doubtless gave Dionysius some outline of his views. To state one's philosophic views is not,

³ Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 247, 889. So in effect Radermacher *ad loc.*

however, to give instruction in philosophy any more than it is giving instruction in astronomy to state without giving proofs that the earth revolves around the sun. Plato never had an opportunity to do more than to exhort the tyrant to take up the subject.

The matter discussed under the laurels was one that Plato considered fundamental, the belief in realities that are immaterial and unperceivable. Dionysius vouchsafed the information that he already held this belief. To this Plato replied that he should thereby be spared much argument, for his greatest difficulty with most students was found in proving that very point. In his letter he points out that the belief was evidently not very firmly established, since Dionysius is after all finding difficulties. In all this I see nothing that Plato would consider instruction in philosophy. It is at most exhortation to philosophy.

When we come to the time of writing of the 2nd Epistle, Dionysius has reached exactly the stage of progress in philosophy that is described by Plato in *Eph.* VII. 338d, e. Plato makes it plain that, before Dionysius began urging him to come a third time to Syracuse, he had given considerable evidence of his interest in philosophy. He had also had some instruction from the numerous teachers who were invited to his court. If the 13th Epistle is genuine, he had had treatises of some sort from Plato himself (XIII. 360b). He was in consequence able to ask questions that prompted Plato's explanation in the 2nd Epistle (312d). This explanation is in itself so enigmatic that no one can possibly tell whether it does or does not represent an advanced stage of instruction. It would probably not sound very advanced if it were stated in terms with which we are familiar.

Dionysius had accordingly had a good deal of instruction in the philosophy of others and had some idea of Plato's views, yet it was strictly true that he had had no regular instruction from Plato himself, and Plato could state without inaccuracy (VII. 345a) that he had expounded his doctrines to Dionysius on only one occasion—that of the year 361.

L. A. POST.

PLUTARCH, *QUAEST. GRAEC.* 56,
303E.

τῶν δὲ φ . . . ἀποθανεῖν τινες λέγονται περὶ τὸ Φλούδη καὶ τὰ στᾶτα δείκνυται αὐτῶν· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Φλούδη ἐπ' ἔκεινων ῥαγῆνα, φθεγγομένων μέγα τι καὶ διάτορον.

HERE Wyttensbach reads *φονευθέντων*. 'Hoc Stephanus, nescio unde, invexit. Libri omnes *φάντων*; in E. est φ . . . sequente lacuna. Caeterum codices variant et narrationis nexus impeditus.'

The true reading must almost certainly be *ἔλεφάντων*, and this is so obvious that I wonder it has escaped detection. Plutarch has explained that Panaima in Samos was so named after a bloody battle between Dionysos and the Amazons. Then follows the statement about the fossil bones and the rending of Phloion. Now from other sources (*Euagon, Frag.* 1;

Müller, *F.H.G.* II., p. 16; *Euphorion, Frag.* 6, *F.H.G.* III., p. 72; *Heracleides Ponticus X, Frag.* 1, *F.H.G.* II., p. 215) we know that the Samians associated the frequent earthquakes in their island with fabulous animals called Neides, whose cries the seismic rumblings were supposed to be, and identified the Pleiocene fossils which abound in the island with the bones of these monsters. In Plutarch's source this native superstition has been blended with the Hellenistic story of Dionysos' triumphant return from Asia. But surely it must be animals, not Amazons, whose death-cries magically rent Phloion, and in the new context these animals can only be some of Dionysos' elephants. If we turn to Nonnus, *Dionysiaca XXVI.*, we shall find a long catalogue of the terrifying peculiarities of elephants, which concludes (ll. 329-332):

*τοὺς μὲν ἄναξ Διόνυσος ἄγων μετὰ φύλοπιν
'Ινδῶν*

*Κανκασίην παρὰ πέζαν Ἀμαζονίου ποταμοῦ
εἰς φόβον εὐπήληκας ἀνεπτοῖησε γυναικας,
ἥλιβάτων λοφίσιν ἐφεδρήσσων ἔλεφάντων.*

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE DERIVATION OF ΘΕΟΣ.

EVER since the closer observance of phonetic laws obliged the comparative philologist to reject the old association of the Greek *θεός* with the Latin *deus* and the Sanskrit *dēva* the etymology of the word has been a puzzle. Light is now coming, however, from the Hittite cuneiform texts of Asia Minor. The Hittites had two words for 'god,' or rather 'deity,' since a distinction of gender was unknown to the language. The more usual word was *karim-mis*; the other word was *sīwas*, from which was derived *sīwanas*, the name given to the Hittite Vestal virgin who was 'married' to the god. *Sīwas* is evidently the Greek *σιώρ* which Hesychius states was the Lakonian form of *θεός*, while *σικόρος* is interpreted *νεκώρος*, *θεοκόρος*, *θεραπευτής θεῶν*. The second element in the latter word indicates its Asiatic origin.

The same origin for the first element is indicated by the name Thiodamas, also written Theodamas through assimilation to *θεός*, who was king of Mysia and son of Héraclés (*i.e.*, Sandes-Tessub), and whose son was the fountain of Hylas. The change of the sibilant into a dental is common in the Asianic languages (*e.g.*, *Melid* from *Meliz*), though the converse was the case in Lakonian.

Whether *σιώρ*, *θεός* is a loan-word from Asia Minor or whether *sīwas* is a loan-word from the Indo-European element in Hittite, which I should regard as Old Phrygian, it is at present impossible to say. It is possible, however, that *sīwas* is derived from the Hittite root *sī*—'cause to shine'—and so originally signified 'light-giver.' At all events, it is with this root that we must connect the Hittite *sēttis*, 'morning,' *sītissis*, 'bright,' and *sittarza*, *sittar*, 'star,' to the last of which *ἀστήρ*, *stella*, and our own *star* would seem to be related.

A. H. SAYCE.

AN EARLY METRICAL COLOPHON

IN the *Harvard Theological Review*, XVIII. (1925), p. 280, E. von Dobschütz prints from C. R. Gregory's notebooks a metrical inscription which Gregory copied from Codex 773 (Athens B.N. 1 [Sakkellion 56]). The relevant lines run :

κορωνίς είμι δογμάτων θείων διδάσκαλος
ἀν τινι με χρήσης ἀντίβιβλον λάμβανε.
οι γὰρ ἀπόδοται κακοί.

These lines are taken from an eleventh century MS., but the verbal type can now be paralleled from a much earlier source, perhaps first century, in a British Museum papyrus of *Iliad*, III. and IV. (Inv. No. 136, 3 verso). On the last sheet appended to this roll, but perhaps not really belonging there as the document on the recto differs from that on the recto of the other sheets and appears to be later, stands a colophon written in artificial epigraphic uncials, faded and almost illegible :

'Ιλιάδες

[.]

έγ[ώ κορ]ωνίς είμι | γραμμάτων φύλαξ·
Καλλίνος {μ'} εέγυρα | ψε δεξάχερι
5 και γο | νφ.
[άν] τινι με χρή | σης ἔπερον ἀντι | λάμβανε·
εάν δε με [[αλ]είφη διαθαλώ | [σ'] Εὐρεπίδη·
δπεχε.

Cröner identifies Callinus with the calligraphist mentioned in Lucian *Adv. Induct.* 2. 24, and would read γονά in l. 5, the Doric form of γονή, Callinus being a characteristically Doric name, 'Callinus and his school?' But *a* is very uncertain. In l. 6 the traces resemble rather μηγέσι, but in view of the later inscription, Cröner's reading given above seems substantiated. 'If you lend me, receive another book as pledge. If you deface me, I'll report you to Euripides. Take that!' Euripides, in this connexion, should be the owner's name, but what Euripides? Can this line be ultimately derived from an ex-libris of the great tragedian?

H. J. M. MILNE.

TWO NOTES.

1. *Pro Milone*, § 77. I have satisfied myself (and others) by the inspection of a photograph, furnished to me by the kindness of the Library at Berlin, that there is no foundation for the statement that the phrase *in civitate* follows *leges* in the Erfurt MS.; it precedes it as in H.

2. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Opusc. V., p. 152, 2 Teubner : the footnote in the Teubner text is erroneous. The extract from Joannes Siculus ends at πῶς εἰσέλθοι, p. 151, 20. When I was preparing my notes for a complete edition of the Opuscula, which, for various reasons, I was forced to delay, and finally abandoned, I transcribed the unpublished commentary of Doxopater, and in none of the MSS. which I was kindly permitted to use (Vatican, Magdalen College, Barocci) is there any trace of the continuation of the quotation.

A. R. POYNTON.

VERGIL, ECLOGUE IV. 62-3, AGAIN.

THE *constructio ad sensum* in the above passage, *qui non risere . . . hunc*, although supported by the usage of Plautus and yet more by that of Terence (see C.R., 1926, pp. 62, 156), might still be assailed by some on the grounds that such a colloquialism, while in place in Comedy and in those of the *Elegies* which are of a lighter tone, is not so when the poet *paulo maiora canit*. It is therefore worth while to notice that it occurs in the very dignified style of Lucretius, with whom Vergil was of course unusually well acquainted :

nam quaeunque uides uesci uitalibus auris,
aut dolus aut uirtus aut denique mobilitas est
ex ineunte aeuo genus id tutata reseruans.

(Lucr. V. 857-9).

With *quaeunque* we can supply nothing but *genera*, or its Lucretian equivalent *saecula*, not *animalia*, which might justify us in saying that *genus*, being a collective singular, was in a sort of agreement with the plural : see the whole context. There is no doubt or variant in the reading of the whole passage, except the obvious haplography *tuta* for *tutata* in the MSS., line 859. Here then we have, in good epic Latin, precisely the shift from a relative clause in the (generalising) plural to an 'antecedent' demonstrative in the singular that Vergil uses.

H. J. ROSE.

AN AFRICAN INSCRIPTION.

IN 1914 Mr Héron de Villefosse published in the *Comptes Rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions, p. 599, the remains of twenty Latin hexameters from a broken and cemented stone at Souhilia in Tunis, with the warning that the squeeze taken is not a good one and that some letters, especially at the beginning and end of lines, are doubtful. The inscription was reproduced in 1923 by Messrs Cagnat and Merlin in their *Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique*, no. 485, and in 1926 by Mr E. Lommatsch in the supplement to Buecheler's *carmina Latina epigraphica*, no. 2296. These reproductions do not faithfully preserve the dimensions of the gaps in the facsimile ; and I should add that the facsimile itself, if trustworthy, shows that the left-hand margin of the verses was not a perpendicular line.

They are an epitaph on a gladiator who was cut off in a promising career at the age of 26, 'ui]xit an. XXVI men. V dies XI', and the dead man is himself the speaker. But the supplements of the three editors give no coherency to the whole nor even a just sense to all the parts ; and I therefore offer this restoration, omitting four verses which are too much broken to be mended, except that the first of them seems to contain the man's name, 'Cloc[ius]'. My own supplements are in italics.

]statuae donatus [honore
pas]mas Agnus habet Karthaginis u[rbe] sacratas:
sic ha]bitum referunt, sic membra de[cenia],
fortis

*sic an]imae rigidos imitantur marmo[ra uultus.
illum] ego discipulus primis imita[tus ab annis 5
* * * * **

commerui nam primitias, et fortia [ferro] 10
cla]ueram nudus prosternens corp[ora tecta;
nec, Phoebe, tibi, diua, queam reputare qu[ot
annos,
qu]ot raptus leto iuuenes, quot stamna [donem.
pa]rua meae nimium durae torsere So[ro]res,
...]da nam leto tradunt ingloria t[15
dec]reta et celeres rapiunt mihi mun[
felix,] heu nimium felix, si munere in ip[so
percussu]s pulchram peterem per uul[nera
mortem.
nunc] genetrix complexa sinu hic corp[us
humauit,
et di]cet titulo nomen per saecul[a saxum. 20

In verse 4 I have written *imae rigidos* for the unmetrical *ima frigidos*; in 13 I have retained *raptus*, tacitly altered to *raptos* in the two last editions; and in 19 I have adopted Mr Lommatzsch's *complexa* for *commixa*.

1-5. He begins with a mention of his trainer, whose victories in the arena are commemorated by a life-like statue at Carthage. *Agnus* is the proper name better spelt *Hagnus*.

10 f. He was a retiarius, and had already killed more than one secutor.

12 f. He cannot tell how many men's lives and limbs his premature death allows the Moon to retain in her dominion; that is, how many more men he would have killed if he had lived longer. In popular astrology the Moon is parent and mistress of the body: Firm. *math.* V *praef.* 5 'Luna . . . humanorum corporum mater', Seru. *Aen.* XI 51 'cum nasci coepimus, sortimur a Sole spiritum, a Luna corpus', Macr. *Sat.* I 19 17 'Luna τόχη, quia corporum praesul est, quae fortitorum varietate iactantur', Paul. Alex. fol. K 3 (*C.C.A.G.* I p. 168 22-9) τῆ φύσει ἡ μὲν Σελήνη τόχη καθόστηκεν . . . καὶ ἡ μὲν τύχη σημαίνει τὰ περ τοῦ σώματος δάνατα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πράξεις.

14. *parua stamna. meae Sorores* has a clumsy ambiguity, but means the same as *Iuu. IX 135 sq.* 'mea Clotho | et Lachesis'.

15 f. are perhaps best completed thus, 'call]ida nam leto tradunt ingloria t[erga | dec]reta et celeres rapiunt mihi mun[era Parcae]' ('celeres Parcae' Stat. *Theb.* VIII 328 and 439), *decreta* then agreeing with *munera*. The word at the end of 15 must be a substantive and the object of *tradunt*; but Mr Lommatzsch's *texta* is impossible, if only because the Fates are spinners and not weavers. *callida terga*, if right, will refer, as *nudus* does, to the retiarius' fashion of fighting, *Iuu. II 144* 'fuga', VIII 206 'fugit', Isid. *orig.* XVIII 55 'secutor ab inseundo retiariu[m] dictus'. But *decreta* may be a substantive and the subject of *tradunt*, and the letters lost at the beginning of 15 seem to be three rather than four, so that another possi-

bility is '*inu]ida*', that is '*inuida delecta leto tradunt ingloria terga*'. I can think of no epithet having the right length and suiting *terga*, for *uiuida* will hardly do.

18. Several other words might be put in the place of *percussus*, but the *percusus* of the three editors is not one of them.

19. The hiatus has plenty of parallels in Virgil and Juvenal and others, and Mr Lommatzsch in avoiding it has fabricated a horrid verse.

I add remarks on a few other inscriptions in Mr Lommatzsch's supplement to Buecheler. 2041 (*C.I.L.* VIII 24658) 1 f.

]odeum g[.]o[...] atl[...]t[...]s
]sum tollit[.]n a[...]ra capu[

Buecheler writes

miretur uetus ord]o deum, c[h]o[r]us] At-
l[an]t[e]us,
hoc opus ut cel]sum tollit [i]n a[st]ra capu[t.

But as this inscription was found 'Carthagine in colle qui vocatur obei', it would be strange if *odeum* were not what it seems; and anyhow 'ordo deum, chorus Atlanteus' is an impossible apposition, and 'chorus Atlanteus' could only mean the Pliades or the Hyades. The word indicated is 'g[.]o[bus]', and the theme of the epigram was probably an Atlas carrying on his shoulders a celestial globe, like the Farnese statue at Naples (Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*, taf. II). The form of the sentence may have been something like

condecorans ecce] Odeum globus Atlanteus
cognata excel]sum tollit in astra capu[t.

2062 (*C.I.L.* IV 3932, Engstroem 286).

The pentameter will be completed by inserting the letters *re uolo* from *C.I.L.* IV 2210 (Buech. p. 824) and *Priap.* 38 3.

2292, p. 155, lately exhumed at Pompei.

nihil durare potest tempore perpetuo.
cum bene sol nituit, redditur oceano.
decrescit Phoebe, quae modo plena fuit.
Venerum feritas saepe fit dura leuis.

Mr Lommatzsch appends this note :

'I lege nil. u. 1-3 aliunde sumptos credas (ex poeta neoterico?), si reputes quam rudis iste fuerit poeta in u. 4. Veneres inuenit Catullus.'

The first three verses show clearly how to correct the sense, language, and metre of the fourth. What the man meant to write was

uentorum feritas saepe fit aura leuis.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

REVIEWS

SOME TRANSLATIONS.

1. *Clarendon Translations*.—Euripides : *Hecuba*, by J. T. SHEPPARD ; *Medea*, by F. L. LUCAS ; *Alcestis*, by H. KYNASTON. Sophocles : *Antigone*, by R. WHITELAW. Oxford : Clarendon Press. Paper. 1s. net each.
2. *The Odyssey*. Translated by Sir WILLIAM MARRIS. Pp. 438. Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d. net.
3. *Aeschylus* ; *Eumenides*. Translated into Rhyming Verse, with Introduction and Notes, by GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. xiii + 63. London : George Allen and Unwin. Cloth, 2s. net.
4. *Choric Songs from Aeschylus*, selected from 'The Persians,' 'The Seven against Thebes,' and 'Prometheus Bound,' with a translation in English Rhythm. By E. S. HOERNLE, I.C.S. Pp. 27 + 60. Oxford : Blackwell. Boards, 5s. net.
5. *Catullus LXIV*. Translated into English verse by C. P. L. DENNIS. Pp. 18. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. Paper, 1s. 3d.
6. *Catullus in English Poetry*. By ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT. Pp. vii + 101. Smith College Classical Studies. Northampton, Massachusetts. Paper, 75 cents.
7. *Catullus—The Complete Poems*. By F. A. WRIGHT. Pp. 89 + 155. Broadway Translations. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.
8. *The Poems of Catullus done into English Verse*. By HUGH MACNAUGHTEN. Cambridge University Press. 5s. net.
9. *The Odes of Horace done into English Verse*. By HUGH MACNAUGHTEN. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.
1. THESE four translations should be of great service both to teacher and to student. Dr. Sheppard in an illuminating preface to the *Hecuba* justifies the use of masks and shows how artistic their effect must have been in this play. His metrical version is often impressive without losing the directness of the Greek ; and it is remarkable with what apparent ease he has preserved so much of the decisive simplicity of the poet's

style. The notes are to the point, and not too numerous. Mr. Lucas sketches the life of Euripides, gives the story of Jason and Medea, and an abstract of the play. In this volume, too, the verse is clear and effective, and adheres closely to the original, though in the chorric odes the lines occasionally halt, and the sense is sometimes obscured. In the notes some interesting parallels are given from English poets ; also from Seneca and the less known Theodor Rhodius and the author of the *Christus Patiens*. Whitelaw's *Antigone* and Kynaston's *Alcestis* are old friends. Both in dialogue and in chorus a faithful rendering is the chief object of the translators, though the verse is easy and pleasant. Both volumes have a full introduction and some good notes by Churton Collins.

2. Sir William Marris has made a plain tale of the *Odyssey*, and has not attempted to dress it in the language of saga or adorn it with unusual vocabulary. In a short notice at the beginning of the volume he shows that he is well aware of the limitations of English for his purpose, and gives good reasons for his adoption and special treatment of blank verse. Though he frequently descends to the level of prose, he keeps the story alive, and the lines run along with epic recurrence. The absence of any pause at the end of so many of them is in danger of defeating its object —lest haply he | see, arable there is whence they | might cut deep crops. my father is | Odysseus—but the general theory of loosening the metre appears to be sound and successful. English readers with no knowledge of Greek will get from this version as fair an idea of the Homeric romance as is possible.

3. Professor Murray deals in his preface with the difficult questions which surround the Greek conceptions of vengeance and forgiveness and the reconciliation of God with man.

These problems, as they appear in the *Eumenides*, are further elucidated by a few admirable notes. The trans-

lation is in rhymed verse, though the reader will hardly discover this from the first couplet :

First of all Gods I worship in this prayer
Earth, the primeval prophet ; after her—

Indeed, a purist may wince at many of the rhymes (*helplessness—place, abominable—swell and dwell, wilderness—wickedness, enemies—these, thought—not, fawn—gone, worshipper—prayer*). More clearly within the range of the *Classical Review* is the doubt whether Professor Murray's ear for music and love of sonorous language may not lead him sometimes to sacrifice the simpler intention of the original. On p. 47 παρά τ' ἀθαύροις τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ γαιῶν is rendered by 'in the lands | Where dwell the deathless and the dead'; and there are some passages of the chorus in which we feel that Swinburne is on the point of 'bolting with' the translator. It is true that by his use of Biblical phrase he gives his readers an echo of the grandeur of Aeschylean thought and speech; but it may be protested that the imitation is often misleading, as in such terms as 'the Holy Place,' or in such wording as 'Ye shall gather it not again,' and there is some danger of thus connecting Aeschylus too closely with Hebrew thought. Similarly on p. 49 the metre has led to an imitation of Tennysonian utterance which gives a wide and moral interpretation to a particular prayer and omits the defining words χώρας and πόλεως.

But it must be admitted that fine effects have been gained by audacity, as in 'And loud his Daemon laughs' on p. 27, and 'In sleep | The heart hath many eyes and can see deep' on p. 5. And English students of Greek literature may with good reason feel grateful for such a version as this, which is the work not only of a great scholar, but also of a poet.

4. Mr. Hoernle admirably sets forth his views on the various methods of rendering Greek metres in English, and his reasons for adopting certain principles of stress and arrangement are convincing enough. He distinguishes between (1) the poetical line, (2) the rhythmical line, and (3) the musical phrase or bar within the rhythmical

line; and he points out how misleading to an English reader the method of printing has been in certain versions of the choric songs. He agrees with Mr. R. C. Trevelyan's aims up to a point, but thinks him too meticulous in his desire to render quantity exactly by stress, and shows that in the English language some liberty can be taken without violating the laws of music. Mr. Hoernle's translations are sometimes obscure, but he raises interesting questions for the professional scholar, and recalls or reveals to the amateur something of the majesty of Aeschylean verse.

5. This is a clear and pleasant rendering into blank verse, reflecting much of the bright and simple colours of the Prothalamion. Here and there we come upon lines of telling force, but the general style is unpretentious and rightly avoids any importation of grandeur. *Adriadne* (twice) and *Favonus* need correcting; and Mr. Dennis, in his next edition, might well attend to Professor Housman's emendation of l. 325.

6. The influence of a poet on his successors may be an interesting study, but it is one which requires careful planning and discrimination. The present volume contains certain passages from Catullus with translations or reminiscences gathered from English and American writers. Sometimes the resemblance in a single phrase has been thought worthy of record, and occasionally there seems to be no connexion at all. Poems which mention love and kisses are not necessarily inspired by Catullus, and parodies of his verses seem altogether questionable. Some of the 'parallels' here quoted are surely an insult to his genius; they have nothing in common with the originals. In the preface Miss Duckett hopes that 'College students may realise more keenly what Catullus has meant through the centuries, and still means, to poets and men of letters.' 'I remember the flush of interest on a Freshman's face when she heard that Edna St. Vincent Millay was concerned with Catullus.' The only specimen of Edna St. Vincent Millay's verse (on p. 24) is not attractive; and it must be said that the

quoted stanzas of other modern poets betray the fact, not that they have been influenced by Catullus, but that they have failed to hear his music or understand him. Some good translations are included, and not all of these are well known.

7. Mr. Wright gives us a volume containing translations of *all* the poems of Catullus, mingling his own work with that of Sidney, Cowley, Crashaw, and others. By a novel arrangement the Lesbia poems come first, then the epigrams and occasional verse, and lastly the longer pieces, the book closing with G. F. Ottey's good rendering of the *Peleus and Thetis*. An excellent introduction tells us of Catullus' relations with Lesbia and others, and gives a scholarly review of his poems. Mr. Wright has made some happy efforts at translating the inimitable verse, but often his metre (p. 117) and rhymes (pp. 105, 113, 139) are faulty; and it is a pity to render the charming simplicity of *Torquatus volo parvulus*—by two stanzas of diffuse English.

8 and 9. Among translators of Catullus into English Mr. Macnaghten holds the first place; for he understands the

peculiar merits of his poet and goes far to give in our clumsier language the airiness and delicacy of the Latin lyric. Some of the versions are as good as can be, and readers who know nothing of Latin will be given a very fair idea of Catullus. To have reproduced in dancing verse the grace and glory of the *Epithalamion* is no common achievement. It is when Mr. Macnaghten deserts the Latin text that we have a doubt or two. Some of the notes seem trivial, and we don't think of Catullus as 'a starry lad.' Though the same bathos appears in the notes to the Horace, the versions are well done into appropriate metres, and in many places they reach the high standard which Horace set himself in his lyrics. Very carefully every word is translated, and only two or three times is anything extraneous allowed to help rhyme or metre. The sense at times is obscure to anyone unfamiliar with the original; but the majesty of Horace is maintained, and his reputation will be increased among English-speaking peoples by this fine translation. *Crescam laude recens.*

A. B. RAMSAY.

THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE.

The Formation of the Greek People. By A. JARDÉ. Translated by M. R. DOBIE. Pp. xvi + 369; seven maps in text. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Price 16s.

A SKETCH upon this scale of the origins, environment, and development of Greek civilisation from the Bronze Age to Alexander the Great is bound to contain the expression of some views, with which the reader violently quarrels, stated as though they were facts. As regards the early history, however, the author has disarmed us by an excellent chapter warning us of how much we do not know and how unreliable are any scholar's working hypotheses. An inequality in equipment is also inevitable, for no writer can be a specialist in everything. In matters linguistic M. Jardé has taken Meillet for his authority; of matters of religion he has evidently

no special knowledge, and if he has a guide he has proved very unreliable. But the first essential M. Jardé has, a ready familiarity with his classical authors, which is not second-hand. He is also a good geographer with an exceptional knowledge, both theoretical and personal, of the Greek countryside. From this angle he has drawn a fresh and interesting sketch of the familiar subject. Particularly good is his insistence on the variety of the environment and of the manifestation of Greek civilisation. The theme of the latter part of the book is the reaction of centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. There is a good deal here which might be criticised, particularly in political history. Thus, the perspective of the Fifty Years may be thought misleading, and in his estimate of Athenian aims and Periclean policy his judgment might be questioned.

The translation by the same hand is better done than that of *Ancient Greece at Work* (C.R. XL. p. 195). The spelling of Greek names is again open to criticism, and a bibliography for French students has disadvantages for English use. It is a little odd, for example, to be referred to the *Revue Archéologique* for the relation between Cyrenaic and Laconian pottery!

Still, when all is said and done, it is an admirable work to put into the

hands of students, and one, at least, of the teachers of such has found profit as well as pleasure in its pages, even though he finds it hard to believe that 24½ inches of rain once fell in two hours at Athens (p. 19), and he has always the ambition to charter a trawler, embark upon it all the persons who declare that the Aegean 'is not a stormy sea,' and sail them round Crete until they admit the relativity of their statement.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. IV.: *The Persian Empire and the West.* Pp. xxiii + 698; 17 maps and plans. Cambridge: The University Press. 35s. net.

'THEY (the Athenians, at Plataea) pretend to have waited for the Lacedaemonians to move, but it may be surmised that really the Lacedaemonians waited for them.' This sentence is typical of the prevailing reconstruction of Herodotus, which is well represented by Mr. Munro and Mr. Walker in this volume. The method consists in postulating, as is correct, that Herodotus knew little of military (as of constitutional) matters, rejecting anything in his narrative that seems 'unlikely,' and substituting much that is different and often the contrary of what he tells us. It is forgotten that once we reject Herodotus we have (practically) no other evidence; we are making bricks without straw. Mr. Munro thinks, like so many others, that Amompharetus was a pattern of discipline. He may have been; certainly if, while strictly carrying out orders, some eccentricity of manner, say, suggested the familiar story, Athenians would not have hesitated to invent, nor Herodotus to record it. That we may grant; but we have no means whatever of verifying the hypothesis; and there have, after all, been obstinate colonels in history. The objections to the method are greater when the new result is not intrinsically more probable than the old; Mr. Munro's account of the tactics at Plataea seems to me even less credible than Herodotus' (what was the object, for instance, of the chiasmic

move of the centre to the left wing and of the Athenians to the centre?); while at Salamis he makes the Greeks open the battle by sailing right across the bows of the enemy's fleet, and this in a piece of water almost land-locked, not a mile wide, where the enemy if defeated could make good his escape, but they themselves could only retire towards the mainland held by the enemy. And he gives to the Persians no great superiority in numbers such as alone might explain such desperate tactics.

Marathon is an easier case; for Herodotus himself gives us much better hints for the correction of his narrative. But here, too, the common desire to correct him has led Mr. Munro not only into unnecessary assumptions but into contradictions; so that it is his own narrative that is improbable. He will have it that the thinning of the Athenian centre was the result of accident, not design; the leaders of the wings had diverged too far. For no one in command of 'a half-trained Greek militia' would have dared to weaken his centre on purpose. But a few lines before Callimachus 'could trust his panoplied infantry to rout the enemy in equal combat at close quarters'; and a few lines afterwards this same militia can break off a pursuit and wheel to attack a victorious enemy. And Mr. Munro attributes to the Greeks many complicated manoeuvres at Plataea. He omits, by the way, in his consideration of Persian tactics at Marathon, the possibility that the Persians had begun to embark with the intention of sailing to Athens and that the cavalry were

already on board when Miltiades seized the moment to attack ; and that that is why the attack was made just when it was and not later.

Another popular element in the re-writing of Herodotus that will be found in this volume is the heroization of Cleomenes. His strategy in the invasion of Attica in 508 is 'masterly,' though it is nothing more sophisticated than an arrangement that attacks by three armies from different quarters should be simultaneous. The apparently much cleverer strategy of the Athenians by which they defeated the Chalcidians and Boeotians in detail after the withdrawal of Cleomenes goes without praise.

But at least these reconstructions are based on one true assumption : that Herodotus was ignorant of strategy and tactics. Those which are based on a false assumption are doubly wrong : likely to be wrong in themselves (because based on no evidence) and in giving a false picture of Herodotus. I mean such as depend on the assumption that he had a pro-Athenian and especially a pro-Alcmaeonid bias, or was in the hands of pro-Athenian and pro-Alcmaeonid informants. For Herodotus had no such bias, nor any at all, except towards a good story, and, perhaps, gibing at the Ionians ; he is the fairest-minded of all historians. He may have been a friend of Pericles, but that did not prevent him from telling the story of Alcmaeon and Croesus. Take the incident of the Athenian embassy to Persia at the time of the recall of Cleisthenes to Athens (*Hdt. v. 73*). Mr. Walker treats it at length, taking what is now the received view :

' It has been generally recognized that this is one of those passages in which the influence of Alcmaeonid tradition can be detected. It is an obvious inference from the phrasing that the embassy was sent soon after the recall of Cleisthenes : that is, it was sent at a moment when his influence was at its height. . . . It follows that the policy of sending the embassy to Sardes must have been the policy of Cleisthenes himself. That Cleisthenes . . . should have imagined that Persian aid could be obtained on any other condition than that of giving earth and water . . . is incredible. . . . It is not less incredible that he should have sent the envoys without instructions on the question of earth and water. What is most incredible of all is that

the envoys should have ventured to give earth and water without these instructions.'

But there is nothing in the story incredible, more incredible, or most incredible ; many parallels could be brought from Athenian history. It is as fair to infer from Herodotus that the embassy was sent before Cleisthenes returned (though by his party) ; it may even have been he who secured the repudiation of the treaty. But, supposing that Cleisthenes was at the bottom of it : then 'the fact remains, and it is a fact that should never be forgotten, that the first Greek statesman to invoke the intervention of Persia in the politics of Greece itself was none other than the founder of the Athenian democracy.' Yes ; but how do we know of the embassy at all ? From Herodotus and the Athenian, Alcmaeonid tradition. Why was not the whole story suppressed ? The embassy came to nothing, and was not notorious. Similarly in the reconstruction of Athenian political history between 507 and 490. 'The only party with whom common action [of the Peisistratids] can be assumed is that of the Alcmaeonidae.' But it is at least as likely that Isagoras (in exile) made common cause with Hippias (compare Cleomenes' proposal to restore the tyrant), and that the aristocratic party in Athens, who had been ready enough to overthrow the tyranny, had been disgusted by Cleisthenes' desertion to the democrats, and joined his political enemies. And the shield episode at Marathon : all that is known is that the Alcmaeonidae were then under a cloud, and sufficiently so for slander to attach to their name. But this does nothing to prove that they showed the shield ; and Mr. Munro does not consider the possibility that no signal was given at all ; yet surely we have now had enough experience of 'signalling to the enemy' to suggest that that is most probably the truth. Herodotus 'so long afterwards has still to defend' the Alcmaeonidae ; but Thucydides would have ignored the story altogether. Aristides, by the way, was also 'a member of the Alcmaeonid party' ; his election to the archontate in 489, and the condemnation of Miltiades after Paros (in 490), are both signs of the triumphs of this

treacherous party, immediately after Marathon. Yet Aristides had been one of the generals at Marathon.

What makes this method of dealing with Herodotus yet more unsatisfactory, in this particular book, is the fact that here, as in the previous volume, we have no systematic account of the sources. The general principles for the interpretation of Herodotus Mr. Munro gives (it is only the application of them that I quarrel with); but we are not told definitely what his materials were, what were his ideas of history, how he came to write. He is mentioned on almost every page of these chapters, mostly to be contradicted; but there is no preface explanatory of this, and the general reader will be left in great confusion of mind. Again, the significance of the fact that he is almost our only source for a large part of the history of Persia during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes is not brought out. Particular comparisons between statements of Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Ctesias, or between them and later writers, are left unexplained.¹ This serious defect is the more noticeable, as three writers in this volume, Professors Ure, Conway, and Beazley, do give an introductory note on the sources for their respective chapters.

For all that, the general impression one receives from this volume is one of solid, careful work: reliable as Busolt is reliable, but without his notes. There are, however, a few points to be noticed. The date of the second year of anarchy after Solon should be 586-5, not 585-4 (p. 60: see Schroeder, *Philol.* liii., p. 720 ff.). Important isthmian routes at Corinth and between Brindisi and Tarentum are doubtful (pp. 115, 133): Miletus traded direct with Sybaris, Phocaea with Massilia. Aristotle does not say 'the stamped coin in old times was called a didrachm' (p. 134); he

says it was one. I do not know why election to the strategia (instead of sortition) is an undemocratic principle if 'the Athenians would never have entrusted to the hazard of the lot any but purely routine duties'; nor why, if it is, we must turn from the age of Pericles to that of Demosthenes if we would trace the results of undiluted democracy (pp. 155-6). For ostracism 6,000 votes had to be given against one man, not the majority out of a quorum of 6,000 (see Carcopino's article given in the bibliography, where, however, read 'xxv' for 'xxx'; this article is exhaustive, and does not only 'contain a review of previous literature'). The account of the institution of the *trittyes* (pp. 146-8) would have been clearer if the importance of the *phylae* (why will scholars still use the word 'tribe' for *phyle*?) had previously been explained; it is surprising to find Mr. Walker writing 'one trittys in each tribe consisted of a single deme situate either in the city of Athens or in its suburbs,' for this was true of four *phylae* at most; and it is misleading to say (p. 143) that the demes of a trittys were not necessarily contiguous, for demes isolated from the rest of their *trittyes* were very exceptional (not more than three or four of the whole number, and Loeper denied even these), and such enclaves were very possibly due to a later modification of Cleisthenes' own system. The significance of the introduction of the lot in the election of the archons—the most important, almost the only important, reform in the constitution after Cleisthenes—is missed; or is it to be given in vol. v.? A chronological note at the end is required to justify Mr. Munro in putting Marathon in 491 (which Mr. Walker does not accept).

I have left myself no space in which to deal with the other chapters in this volume; but I must express my admiration for Professor Beazley's on Greek art (what a sense of language he has, and what economy in the use of it), and for Mr. Robertson's all too short section on architecture, supplemented as it is by a very full bibliography. Philology comes into its own in Professor Conway's good but

¹ Mr. Walker says: 'It would be too much to say that our knowledge of these reforms [of Cleisthenes] as compared with what was surmised on the subject before the recovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* is as light to darkness, but it is no exaggeration to say it is as noon-day compared with twilight.' It would be more exact to say it is as twilight to almost utter darkness.

not crystal-clear chapters on early Italy (on p. 461 he has an important criticism of the archaeological misuse of terms such as 'Aryan'); but I do not believe that *hemitom esti durōm* means 'half a cup is sorry cheer' in Sicel or any other European tongue. He makes an error of a common kind when he writes: 'However worthless this story may be, it is interesting as indicating certain friendly relations between Greeks and Etruscans'; if the story is worthless it indicates nothing but the folly of its author and his followers. And what is the meaning of this sentence: 'Without taking too literally the somewhat lurid account of their banquets given by the third-century historian Timaeus, we are, nevertheless, led by other evidence to regard them as a nation which, before they came under the powerful influence of Rome, had hardly risen above matri-linear ideas'?

There is untidiness of arrangement in excluding the history of Sicily from the chapter on 'the outer Greek world in the sixth century,' and reserving it to a place after those dealing with the Persian invasions; and unnecessary confusion is caused by inserting the account of the Etruscans and Early

Italy between the political and the literary and artistic history of Greece, especially as thereby Etruscan art is described before Greek.

Professor Bury's chapter on Greek literature is quite inadequate, especially the section on the lyric poets (Diehl's edition, by the way, is omitted in his bibliography, though it is given by Professor Adcock elsewhere); bald and colourless, and sometimes irrelevant. It is surprising to read that the fame of Alcaeus and Sappho is due to Horace, and 'but her pupils had no literary talent among them; none of them did for Sappho what Plato did for Socrates in his *Symposium*.' Why should they? She had done it for herself. It is puerile to defend her character against Mure and *Les Chansons de Bilitis*. In general, no one would infer from this history that Sappho and Simonides were better poets than Stesichorus and Theognis, or were specially good writers at all; any more than they would learn the importance of the Greek victory over Persia. A man coming fresh to Greek history would wonder why so much space is given to the 'little campaign' of Marathon, and the tactics at Plataea: what is all the fuss about?

A. W. GOMME.

GRIECHISCHE

Erster Hauptteil: Allgemeine Darstellung des griechischen Staates. Von Dr. GEORG BUSOLT. München, 1920.

Zweite Hälfte: Darstellung einzelner Staaten und der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen. Bearbeitet von Dr. HEINRICH SWOBODA. München, 1926.

THESE two volumes form the third edition of part of the original Volume IV. of Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*. The first of the two volumes is entirely the work of Busolt, and it was published in the year in which he died. The second volume, published six years after his death, is also partly Busolt's work, and partly based on the manuscript which he left behind him; pp. 663 to 882 are Busolt, pp. 883 to 1590 represent Busolt's manuscript, reduced in bulk and brought up to date by Swoboda.

STAATSKUNDE.

A comparison of these two volumes with the first edition of the *Handbuch* brings home to one the prodigious growth of specialised studies in the past forty years. In place of the 222 pages of the first edition we have 1600 pages in the third edition. The survey of the ancient sources and the modern literature occupies no less than 100 pages.

The second volume is mainly concerned with Sparta and Athens, and with the Greek Leagues, nearly 500 pages being given to Athens and nearly 300 to the Leagues. The second volume is likely to prove more interesting and more useful to the student of Greek history than the first, apart from the survey of Sources and Literature. In the Athenian section the pre-Solonian existence of the four *τέλη*, in some

sense or other, is affirmed, even that of the Pentakosiomedimnoi. On the other hand, the grouping of the population into Εὐπατρίδαι, γεωμόροι, and δημουργοί, is asserted to have been a temporary movement in the period immediately following the legislation of Solon. We find it hard to accept the view that the true name of the second group was not γεωμόροι, but ἄγροικοι. Draco's Constitution is dismissed as an invention of the reactionaries at the end of the fifth century, but the presence of some genuine elements in the alleged Constitution is more or less conceded. This tendency to effect a compromise between opposite views is unfortunately only too apparent elsewhere. The seventeen years' supremacy of the Areopagus after the Persian Wars is treated as unhistorical, yet it is suggested that there may have been a display of patriotism on its part which won for it fresh influence. Similarly in the section dealing with the Boeotian League, while the theory (with its attendant series of improbable and complicated hypotheses) that Sparta interfered in 457 B.C. on behalf of the democrats, and that Athens at Oenophyta was the champion of the oligarchic cause, is very properly rejected; the rejection, however, is qualified by the concession that some of those exiled by Athens may have been democrats, although most of them were oligarchs. It is surprising to find that Diodorus' express assertion that Myronides failed to capture Thebes after Oenophyta, although it is supported by Thucydides III. 62. 5, is summarily dismissed, and the hypothesis advanced that the famous *crux* in the Athenian Constitution of the Pseudo-Xenophon (οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοῖς, or οἱ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, III. 11) is to be explained by the assumption that the overthrow of the democracy at Thebes about this time (Arist. *Pol.*

1302B) was effected with the aid of the Athenians. As might be expected in view of Chapter XI. of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, the constitution of the League comes in for pretty full treatment. The division into four *Bouλαῖ* is held to apply to the Federal Council as well as to the local ones, but no argument is advanced except the appeal to Thucydides V. 38. 2. This is the merest dogmatism. The tendency to compromise comes out again in the discussion of the all-important question of the origin of the Chalcidian League. It is admitted that the League was in existence during the Archidamian War, but it is confined to Olynthus and its immediate neighbours. We naturally ask ourselves who then were οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς in Thucydides V. 31. 6, but the answer which we get is not satisfactory. In this context one might have expected a reference to the well-known articles on Chalcidice by Mr. E. Harrison, which appeared in the *Classical Quarterly* for 1912, but we have not been able to find it.

Two acknowledgments remain to be made. In the first place, it says much for the public spirit of the learned world in Germany that, in spite of the economic conditions which have prevailed in that country since the War, these two volumes should be so admirably printed. In works of reference nothing can be more important than that the eye should be able to range rapidly over the page. In the second place, even English scholars can allow themselves to pay their tribute to the memory of Georg Busolt. His claim to be remembered rests rather on his industry and learning than on his originality or critical insight, but his industry must have been incredible, and to that industry all serious students of Greek history must feel their debt.

E. M. WALKER.

THE PLATONIC EPISTLES.

Platon: Œuvres Complètes. Tome XIII., 1^{re} partie: Lettres. Texte établi et traduit par JOSEPH SOUILHÉ. Pp. cii+171. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926.

M. SOUILHÉ has given us an interesting and useful volume in this edition of the thirteen Epistles attributed to Plato. His Introduction, which fills over a hundred pages, begins by tracing the

adventures of these curious writings among the estimates of ancient and modern critics. It then proceeds to a survey of the fashion of producing open letters or manifestoes, as followed by Isocrates and other teachers from the fourth century B.C. onwards: the intention here is merely to establish the possibility of similar publications from the hand of Plato. The next section expounds the importance of these Epistles as illustrating especially the political activity of the philosopher, and maintains that at any rate they furnish a lively corroboration of Plutarch's statement of the effects of Plato's personal influence on Dion, Python, Heraclides, Chabrias, Phocion, and many other disciples. The fourth and last section gives a brief history of the manuscript tradition.

M. Souilhé has no doubts as to the authenticity of Epistle VII., which he describes as a public message explaining and justifying the philosopher's attitude towards the troubled affairs of Sicily: 'philosophy, like the Academy and its head, emerges blameless from this series of events.' The inconsequent manner of this lengthy composition, its lack of progressive unity, should not, he declares, raise suspicions of its genuineness; the Dialogues have the same casual way about them. This is a gallant, but not very convincing, treatment of a serious difficulty. For one may fairly ask why Plato, in writing a public manifesto on this elaborate scale, should not think it worth his while to compose with something like the orderliness of Isocrates. The casual manner of the more dramatic Dialogues is one of the great devices of his literary art, as carefully planned as

the strict methodical order with which he conducts the argument of his more logical works: to what purpose was carelessness here? M. Souilhé claims that the redundancies of style, the 'doublets,' the broken constructions, the frequent periphrases, recall astonishingly the manner of Plato in his later Dialogues: but it is difficult to believe that he could write so flatly—not to say flatulently—as the author of this Epistle allows himself to do at times—e.g. (327c) μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διενοήθη μὴ μονον ἐν αὐτῷ ποτ' ἀν γενέσθαι ταῖτην τὴν διάνοιαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄρθων λόγων ἔτχει—(328b) τὴν δὲ ἐμῆν δόξαν τὸ μὲν περὶ τῶν νέων, ὅπῃ ποτὲ γενήσοιτο, εἰλέν φύβος—(332c) οὐδὲ μεῖζον σημεῖον εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν—(332e) ὥστε αὐτῷ τε οἰκείας καὶ ἀλλήλαις εἶναι πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων βοηθείας—(333b) ἔξέβαλον μὲν Δίωνα, ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰς φύβον κατέβαλον· ἵνα δὲ ἐκπεράνωμεν οὐκ ὀλίγα πράγματα τὰ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ—(337a) χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις διτταῖς οὖσαις ἀνάγκαις, αἰδοῖ καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ . . . , αἰδοῖ δὲ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ . . . —(340a) ἔδωκέν τι μέρος αἰδοῖ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ πραγμάτων. Other places where the Greek is difficult to swallow as Plato's are 344a, c, and e, and 347a and e.

In dealing with Epistle VIII., this editor seems rather to overrate the purity of the style. Regarding the rest of the Epistles, he hesitates to pronounce in favour of some, and decides against others, while pointing out the great interest that attaches to them in their several degrees of proximity to the master's mind and teaching.

The translation is faithful and clear, and the notes supply abundant references to the Dialogues and to other connected writings.

W. R. M. LAMB.

BOLL AND GUNDEL'S STERNGLAUBE UND STERNDEUTUNG.

Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. By FRANZ BOLL, 3rd edition by W. GUNDEL. Pp. xii + 211. With 20 plates and a map. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1926. M. 11 (bound, 13.60). IN its first two editions this book was a sketch of the theory and history of astrology from the Babylonians to the present day, intended for the general

public and printed in the German character. Boll died in 1924, and it now appears in Roman type with a page greatly enlarged and illustrations increased in number and improved in quality; and its length is much more than doubled by *Nachträge* and *Zusätze*.

The original portion is little altered, and some errors are repeated. P. 45:

'Umlaufzeit durch den Tierkreis, von Frühlingspunkt zu Frühlingspunkt' is said to be 88 days for Mercury and 225 for Venus. This mistake is often made by scholars ignorant of the sky, but an astronomer like Boll should have avoided it. These are the times of the two planets' revolutions round the Sun in the Copernican system: the time of their passage through the zodiac is of course on an average the same as the Sun's, one year. P. 50: Jupiter is twice said to be moist, and is then included among the dry planets. P. 53: Sagittarius is said to be Chiron 'nach griechischer Deutung'. This identification is rare and heretical: in orthodoxy Chiron is the Centaurus Australis, and Sagittarius is not always even a centaur.

The additions, most of which are Mr Gundel's, have changed the scope and nature of the work, and it is now not merely a popular epitome but a repertory for students of the subject in detail, especially if they wish to know of things which have come to light since the publication of Bouché-Leclercq's *Astrologie Grecque* in 1899. But here also there are errors, as indeed a reader of Mr Gundel's writings might expect.

P. 120: that the fixed stars are not all on one plane is said to be 'als spezielle Doktrin der Stoiker überliefert (Diels Doxogr. S. 344)'. This is exactly contrary to truth. The Stoics held that the seven planets are on

seven planes and all the fixed stars on an eighth. If the words *πρὸ τῶν ἑτέρων (ἀστέρων) τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐν ὑψει καὶ βάθει (κείσθαι)* required elucidation, they would receive it from Diels p. 466 (Chrysipp. ap. Stob.) *τετάχθαι τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ ἐπὶ μᾶς ἐπιφανεῖς, ὡς καὶ ὄράται· τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα ἐπὶ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης σφαῖρας*; and when Manilius says at I 408 that Sirius (a fixed star) is further away than the Sun (a planet), that is no divergence. But this falsehood is pretty sure to be repeated, because it is needed for the defence of Manil. I 394. P. 129: 'Catal. cod. astr. VIII 3 S. 97, 8 aus Paulus Alexandrinus (die Stelle findet sich in den beiden Ausgaben Schatos nicht)'. It is on fol. I 3 and 4 in the edition of 1586, and I have no doubt it is also in the other. P. 153: what is said of Prop. IV 1 101 will deceive only those who do not read the passage. P. 193: 'der untere Halbkreis zeigt die Winterhälfte des Sonnenlaufes' is a statement which a glance at the figure (XV) will show to be false; but that is not so bad as the pretence of combining two unrelated things, the Sun's astronomical dejection at the winter solstice and his astrological dejection in Libra. P. 201: the citation of Luc. I 651 ff. is inappropriate, for Lucan says nothing about a *σύνοδος* of the planets; and Boll's 'Erklärung' in *Sphaera* p. 362, though it misrepresents him, does not misrepresent him thus.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ROMAN HISTORY AND PRE-HISTORY.

Histoire Romaine. Tome premier: Des Origines à l'Achèvement de la Conquête (133 avant J.-C.). Par ETTORE PAIS. Adapté d'après le manuscrit italien par JEAN BAYET. Pp. 144. Fascicule I. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1926. (Part III. of *Histoire ancienne*, edited by GLOTZ).

Rome the Law-Giver. By J. DECLAREUIL, translated by E. A. PARKER. Pp. xvi + 400. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1927. 16s. net.

Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism. By LÉON HOMO.

Translated by V. GORDON CHILDE. Pp. xi + 371. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1927. 16s. net. (Two volumes of *History of Civilisation*, edited by OGDEN.)

THESE books represent a comparatively small part of the simultaneous effort now making in London and Paris to present a universal history drawn up by specialists, yet not too abstruse and technical for the ordinary educated reader. They are not all equally successful. The first is so far a mere fragment, stopping in the middle of a sentence, and cannot therefore be judged as if it were a complete book; but it is

long enough to show that it is typical of the work of Pais. We have, as in his *Storia critica di Roma* and *Studi storici*, to both of which he constantly refers in the footnotes, on the one hand acute, sometimes hypercritical, handling of the literary material, towards which the author's more mature judgment is a shade less ruthless, perhaps, than it was; and side by side with it, as if in proof of the old adage that an unbeliever is always superstitious, the most hair-raising reconstructions of history on the ruins of the traditional account (it might almost be said that in the constructive passages, the word *certain* means 'in the last degree hypothetical'). The use of archaeological evidence is curiously timid, and the accounts given of primitive Roman and Italian civilisation and religion I can but term childish.

Declareuil has written a very meritorious book much damaged by lack of care in detail; indeed, it gives the impression of having been written, translated, and published with undue haste. There is much material here for the study of the development of Roman law down to and including the reforms of Justinian (which, by the way, come in for some severe criticism). The arrangement is intelligible, the references abundant; but the author seems to know very little more than Fustel de Coulanges, or even than Austin, as to the early history of law; the beginner will find the crowds of technical terms repellent, the more so as they are often left unexplained; and the expert will note with disapproval that the bibliography does not include Dill, Maine, Rossbach, Rostovtzeff (except one work), Strachan - Davidson, Tenney Frank, Vinogradoff, Wissowa, or any English

or American periodical except *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, and will be hampered by the multitude of inaccurate, antiquated, or wholly irrelevant references. Still, the book may claim a place on the shelves of students who know something of the subject and wish for a not unreliable guide towards deeper knowledge.

Decidedly the best book is that of Homo. Here again good work has been damaged by carelessness: the bibliography is shockingly slovenly, especially as regards classical authors; the most persistent fault is 'Justinian' for Justin (the epitomator of Trogus); there are many slips of author, translator, or printer, and Mr. Childe is less felicitous in rendering another man's work into English than in original composition. But these are minor faults, and the value of the book is very considerable. We have here, alongside of a recognition nearly as full as that of Pais of the untrustworthy nature of much of the literary evidence, a thorough and, in the best sense of the word, an imaginative use of all that archaeology can do to throw light on the early period. It is not likely that anyone will agree with the whole of the results obtained; the author would be the first to admit that they are provisional; but in attempting to link up scattered facts into a continuous narrative he has provided a clue to the labyrinth for which all who are not themselves experts in archaeology must heartily thank him. For later times — he ends at 146 B.C.—Homo is lucid, interesting, and not without originality, often bringing forward an unhackneyed point of view even where he can find no new facts.

H. J. Rose.

THE SPIRIT OF ROME.

The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought, and Art. By ALBERT GRENIER. Pp. 423. Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1926. 16s.

The Mind of Rome. Edited by CYRIL BAILEY. Pp. 515. Oxford, 1926. 8s. 6d.

Die Originalität der römischen Literatur. Von GÜNTHER JACHMANN. Pp. 43. Teubner, 1926. M. 2.60.

A Study of the Causes of Rome's Wars from 343 to 265 B.C. By J. W. SPAETH, Jr. Princeton, 1926.

THE appeal of religion, literature, and art so obviously transcends differences of race and language that it is difficult not to sympathise with those who are called upon to attempt a definition of the achievements of any one people in these departments. This task, always

a difficult one, is almost impossible when the people concerned is such a congeries of types and races as were the Romans, and this is fully recognised by the authors of these books, who would be the last to claim any finality for their suggestions. Mr. Bailey finds among the 'notes' of Roman literature our old friends *virtus* and *gravitas*, but his coadjutor Mr. Bell points out that restraint and self-control are not the leading characteristics of such writers as Catullus and Cicero, who no doubt admired these virtues but did not succeed in acquiring them. The other qualities which Mr. Bailey enumerates—shrewdness, goodhearted benevolence, and 'a brooding sense of melancholy'—are no doubt characteristics of certain Roman writers, but there are others in whom they are pretty obviously absent. Professor Grenier begins his book by stating frankly that he has not the least idea what the 'Roman Spirit' may be, and ends (rather half-heartedly, we suspect) by asserting that its leading features were respect for the gods, devotion to the state, and interest in the individual man. But surely no Roman writer emphasises the claim of the state more vigorously than Thucydides, Plato, or Aristotle; surely Euripides and Aristophanes show as much *humanitas* as Horace; and surely such incidents as the mutilation of the Hermae prove that even in Athens of the *Aufklärung* respect for the state religion was considered synonymous with patriotism.

Professor Jachmann discusses the originality of Roman literature with German thoroughness. He rejects the view of Leo that Greek literature alone can claim to be entirely original, on the ground that though the Greeks created the *Grundformen* of most literary types, yet content is as important as form in determining originality. Most of his lecture is devoted to a study of particular writers—e.g., Plautus, Lucretius, and Virgil—in whom he finds qualities which distinguish them from their Greek models, but as regards the characteristics of Roman literature in general he is cautious. 'If we regard antiquity as a whole, we recognise in Roman literature the form in which

the literature of the post-classical age reached its completion.' 'The Romans link themselves on to the Greeks, and thus arises a composite culture (*die Gesamtantike*) with its Greek and its Roman side.' 'The value of a work of art is determined neither by form nor by matter; what matters is whether it rises into that higher sphere in which all arts, however different in their means of expression, meet on common ground.' In estimating the value of a work of art the nationality of its creator is a very secondary consideration, but Professor Jachmann seems right in believing that the rise of Rome saved ancient literature from the dilettantism of the Hellenistic age and restored to it some of the qualities which had been prominent in classical Greece, when the state was regarded with reverence and writers were not only literary men but citizens.

But the value to students of the works of Professor Grenier and Mr. Bailey is quite independent of their success or failure in finding a formula for the Spirit or the Mind of Rome. Both books may be warmly recommended to those who desire a scholarly introduction to Roman literature and thought. In *The Mind of Rome* a group of eight Oxford scholars has produced translations of characteristic passages of Roman writers under such heads as 'Epic,' 'Bucolic,' 'Story-telling and the Novel,' accompanying them with such comments as are necessary to render them intelligible. If Roman literature is to be studied by those whose knowledge of Latin is limited or even non-existent, teachers would be well advised to use this book in preference to the soul-destroying histories of literature which are the despair of examiners. Their pupils will at any rate get some idea of the literary qualities of Roman writers, and will be stimulated to make their acquaintance in the original. The book, which is beautifully printed and illustrated, ought to appeal to older people who have forgotten their Latin, or who wish to find a competent introduction to authors like Petronius and Apuleius who are not commonly read by beginners.

Professor Grenier's book is more

ambitious and covers a wider field. It forms part of the well-known French series, *L'Evolution de l'Humanité*, which is now appearing in an English dress, and has been admirably translated. There are few subjects connected with Roman life and thought down to the period of the early Principate on which the book has not something illuminating to say. The professor is a well-known authority on early Rome, and his discussion of Etruscan influence is perhaps the best which has appeared in English, though some may object that he, like M. Homo, exaggerates the extent to which early Rome was dominated by Etruria. He seems, however, to have proved that the Roman alphabet is derived, not from the Greeks, but from an early form of the Etruscan alphabet, and that a large number of Roman proper names are derived from Etruscan roots. His discussion of Roman religion, if less original, is fresh and suggestive. 'It was a cold religion, without enthusiasm, grave and severely official, but essentially public, knowing none of the dark by-ways of mysticism, clear, honest, and fundamentally healthy.' 'The Romans of the Republican age had lost all memory of the notion that a god benefits by the life sacrificed to him.' The essentially political character of the religious reforms of Augustus is well brought out. 'Reinstated by Augustus in its honours and its official forms, Roman religion would pursue its pompous way for centuries yet.' On literary questions the judgments of Professor Grenier are always interesting. 'In general, as is natural in a keen rhetorician, verisimilitude is for Livy the measure of truth. Moreover, he is not very exacting in

the matter of verisimilitude.' 'The wisdom' (of Lucretius) 'is that of Epicurus, but the tone is rather that of Stoicism, or, more simply, of a Roman with an antique soul.' These quotations are enough to show the value of this book even to advanced students.

It is probable that seekers after a definition of the Roman Spirit would derive more help from Mr. Spaeth's careful analysis of the early wars of Rome than from books which are concerned with her literature and art. For, as Mr. Bailey says, literature in Rome was always a possession of an educated few, while her achievements in war and administration were due to qualities which were very widely spread among her citizens. Mr. Spaeth has thoroughly mastered the literature of his subject, ancient and modern, and his conclusions show a sane judgment. Only in the war with Tarentum does he find any trace of an economic cause. The wars with the Gauls, Etruscans, Samnites and Latins were due to such straightforward causes as the ambition of individuals, the restlessness of half-civilised tribes, and the clash of national ambitions. There is little that is new in all this, but it is as well to be reminded that the spread of Rome's power in Italy was not due to any conscious 'imperialism,' but was forced on her by circumstances. The limitations imposed on himself by the author prevent him from discussing the use which Rome made of her victories, and we hope that he may continue his researches on the period with the view of publishing something on this interesting problem.

G. H. STEVENSON.

CICERO AND ASCONIUS

JULES HUMBERT: *Contribution à l'Étude des Sources d'Asconius dans ses Relations des Débats judiciaires.* 15 frs. *Les Plaidoyers écrits et les Plaidoiries réelles de Cicéron.* 25 frs. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925.

THE first of these dissertations forms an introduction to the second, which the author calls his principal work.

The two dissertations overlap, and there is a good deal of repetition. For the sake of brevity it will be convenient to designate them as *A* and *B*.

The portions of Asconius which are discussed in *A* are in *Scaurianam*, in *Milonianam*, and in *Cornelianam*: the speeches against Piso and in *toga candida* are excluded as non-judicial.

Humbert's thesis in *A* is that the *Acta Diurna*, which were used by Asconius, were not, as Hübner supposed, a *Journal de Rome acheté au numéro*, but an official record of documents which deserved to be preserved. He supposes that, in the case of criminal trials, *procès-verbaux* were drawn up by the magistrates. This view, he says, is entirely new.

Our information about the institution of the *Acta* comes from Suetonius, *Iulius*, ch. 20, who says that Caesar in his consulship (59 B.C.) *primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta conficerent et publicarentur*. This statement appears to be explained by another passage in the same author, where he says that Augustus stopped the publication of the *Acta senatus*. Previously they seem to have been combined with the *Acta populi*.

Cicero's speech *pro Cornelio* was delivered in 65 B.C.—i.e., before the institution of the *Acta*—while the *pro Scauro* (54 B.C.) and *pro Milone* (52 B.C.) were subsequent to it. Humbert shows that whereas the commentary of Asconius on the *Scauriana* and *Miloniana* is based on original documents drawn from the *Acta*, that on the *Corneliana* shows no such minute knowledge, and appears to be founded on statements made by Cicero himself or the accuser, Cominius, whose speech was preserved. He concludes that the commentary on the *pro Cornelio* is much less valuable than that on the other two speeches. He goes so far as to accuse Asconius of a blunder with regard to what is generally called *pro Cornelio* II. In the first of the five passages referred to this speech Cicero speaks of certain witnesses who have already given evidence against Cornelius. Asconius says that these were Q. Catulus, Q. Hortensius, Q. Metellus Pius, *quos hac secunda oratione tractat*, also, two who had not yet given evidence, M. Lucullus and M. Lepidus. Humbert holds that, except in cases of extortion, the witnesses were always heard after the pleadings had been concluded. He therefore suggests that these fragments are taken from an *interrogatio in testes* similar to the *interrogatio in P. Vatinium testem*, delivered after he

had given evidence against Sestius. This is very ingenious, but it is odd that no record of such an *interrogatio* has been preserved, while there is ample evidence for the *Corneliana secunda* (Cic. *Orator*, 225).

Humbert has already set forth in *A* a theory, of which he makes great use in *B*. As the theory is a strange one, it is necessary to give the passage upon which it is built. In *de Orat.* II. 313-4, Antonius is criticising those who put up a poor speaker to open a case. He then says, ‘*ergo ut in oratore optimus quisque, sic in oratione firmissimum quodque sit primum: dum illud tamen in utroque teneatur, ut ea quae excellent, serventur etiam ad perorandum.*’ This means that, if there are several speakers, the best should be employed to open and to wind up the case, and if there is only one speaker, he should put his strongest arguments at the beginning and the end of his speech. Humbert puts on it the singular interpretation that when several orators spoke in the same speech the chief of them delivered two orations: (1) *A discours-principium*, and (2) *a discours-peroratio*. He has no evidence for this beyond his misinterpretation of *de Orat.* (*l.c.*), but after constant repetition of his view becomes more and more dogmatic. It is incredible that, if this was the practice in Cicero's days, no hint of the fact should survive in his writings or in those of later authors.

In *B* Humbert deals singly with Cicero's judicial speeches. His theory is that the written speech was not, as is usually supposed, a literary edition, with alterations, additions, and deletions made by the author at his leisure, but that it represents ‘une controverse qui aurait comporté plusieurs prises de parole, entremêlées de répliques’ (p. 12). Cicero, we are told, selected portions from his *discours-principium*, and *discours-peroratio*, from the examination of the witnesses, answers to interruptions, evidence of *laudatores*, etc., and by a species of *contaminatio* combined them in the written speech. Humbert's object is to dissect the written speech, to resolve it into its component elements and refer these to various stages in the proceedings. It is impossible to treat

here the points which he raises about all the speeches concerned. It will be sufficient to take two, the *pro Murena* and *pro Caelio*, in order to illustrate his methods and results.

Various unimaginative scholars have been shocked by the comic element in the *pro Murena*, in view of the gravity of the situation and the alarmist statements in the peroration. Some have suspected the genuineness of the speech, an absurd suggestion, in view of Cato's remark at the time, *quam ridiculum consulem habemus* (Plut. *Cat.* 21). Humbert knows a more excellent way. In § 55 Cicero says that Hortensius and Crassus have already spoken, and that he is to speak *in extremo*. According to Humbert, this means that Cicero had also delivered a *discours d'ouverture*, although he ingenuously allows that Cicero does not tell us this (p. 129). He thinks, therefore, that we have to search in the *pro Murena* for two real speeches. He assigns to the first speech all that part of the oration in which gaiety is the dominant note, and leaves nothing to the second except the epilogue, which, he says, calls up 'la dernière péripétie,' and is nearer to the period of the third Catilinarian than the second. He quotes an unsupported statement of Plutarch, *Cic.* 35, that the *pro Murena* was a failure, and supposes that this refers to the second speech of which only the epilogue survives.

His treatment of the *pro Caelio* is more drastic. His thesis is that Cicero did not speak first or last, but played a minor part and left Rome before the end of the trial. Caelius spoke for himself, and Humbert infers, quite unnecessarily, from Quintil. IV. 27, *quae est ipsius actione defensa*, that Caelius spoke after Cicero—*i.e.*, last. He, therefore, holds that Caelius also delivered the 'discours d'ouverture,' was followed by Crassus (§ 23) and Cicero, and then spoke again. The proceedings took place during the Megalesia, April 4-10. Elsewhere (*Q.F.* II. 5) Cicero gives a full account of his movements from April 5 to 8, when

he left for the country, not mentioning the trial of Caelius. But at the beginning of the same letter he refers to a previous epistle, now lost, describing the betrothal of Tullia on April 4, and other public and private affairs. He then goes on, *postea sunt haec acta*. There is no difficulty if Cicero spoke last, as he says he did in the speech (§ 70). A decision may have been arrived at in time for the previous letter. All the trouble arises from the attempt to foist in a 'discours final' of Caelius himself.

Humbert thinks that in all cases the real pleadings took up much more time than is generally supposed. Thus (*B.* 79-80) he brings a passage in *Flacc.* 81—where a *subscriber*, Decianus, is said to have six hours for his speech—into connexion with the provisions of the lex Ursonensis, by which a prosecutor had four hours, a subscriber two hours, and twice as much time was given to the defence. On the strength of this he argues that the prosecution of Flaccus occupied twenty-four hours (*i.e.*, six each to two subscriptores, and twelve for the chief prosecutor), while the defence disposed of forty-eight hours. To what extent the system followed in the lex Ursonensis is good evidence for practice at Rome may be doubted, but if we allow the evidence, we may ask why the unit—viz., the time allowed to a subscriber—was so much larger at Rome (six hours) than at Urso (two hours)? The suspicion arises that in *Flacc.* 81 VI *horas* is a corruption for II *horas*. The text of the speech has come down to us in a very bad state.

Two final remarks may be made. Cicero's real speeches were taken down by stenographers. If the written speeches differed from the shorthand reports so widely as Humbert supposes, would not Cicero's critics have drawn attention to the fact? Also, how is it that Cornelius Nepos was able to declare *se praesente iisdem paene verbis quibus edita est eam pro Cornelio . . . defensionem peroratam?*

ALBERT C. CLARK.

TWO EDITIONS OF HORACE'S *ODES* AND *EPODES*.

1. *O. Horati Flacci opera.* Oeuvres d'Horace: texte latin avec un commentaire critique et explicatif . . . Odes, Épodes et Chant Séculaire publiés par FRÉDÉRIC PLESSIS. Pp. lxxvii + 396. Royal 8vo. Paris: Hachette, 1924. 35 fr.
2. *Le liriche di Orazio commentate da VINCENZO USSANI.* Vol. I.: gli Epodi—il 1^o libro delle Odi. Seconda edizione. Pp. ix + 158. 8vo. Torino: Giovanni Chiantore (succ. E. Loescher), 1922. 12 lire.

As these important editions have reached the reviewer a considerable time after their publication, it has seemed advisable to notice them with as little delay as possible. For this reason the *Epodes* have been excluded from consideration.

1. In 1903 Mr. Plessis, along with the Abbé Lejay, whose death in 1920 was a serious loss to Latin scholarship, published an annotated edition of Horace designed for the use of schools. In 1911 appeared Lejay's notable edition of the *Satires* 'à l'usage des professeurs.' Mr. Plessis has now issued an edition of the *Odes* and *Epodes* in the same series, and Mr. Galletier is preparing a commentary on the *Epistles*.

The expression 'à l'usage des professeurs' may be interpreted in more than one sense. Mr. Plessis seems to aim at supplying teachers in universities and schools with such comments as they might reasonably wish to retail to their classes. Some of the notes are almost incredibly elementary, others are of a much more advanced character. Few lines are left without an explanatory note of some sort; nevertheless much information is withheld. Mr. Plessis gives no hint that *curriculo* (C. I. 1. 3) may be taken in more than one way, or that the moderns vary, as the ancients themselves did, in their interpretation of *terrarum dominos euehit ad deos* (*ib.* 6). Presumably he thinks that these things need not be told to students; but 'les professeurs' may wonder if a commentator who ostensibly caters for them is justified in neglecting such interesting questions. Several of the introductions to individual odes are far

too meagre, and either ignore or skim lightly over problems which must be considered by every serious student. Some of the omissions are astonishing; for example, neither in the introduction nor in the notes to C. III. 3 (not to mention I. 14) is there a word said about the alleged design of removing the capital to the east. Whatever opinion a commentator may have about this and about its bearing on the interpretation of Horace, he is scarcely entitled to ignore it. Mr. Plessis, indeed, quite fails to grapple with the problem raised by Juno's insistence that Troy shall not be restored. In the *apparatus criticus*, which has been supplied by Mr. Galletier, there is a useful selection of variants, but in the commentary the editor rather too frequently avoids discussion of the text and merely annotates the reading which he has himself adopted; this is the case even with *†limen Apuliae†* (see below). Such omissions are much to be regretted; on the other hand we find items such as the following: C. I. 1. 9 *proprio horreo*, 'abl. of place without prep.'; I. 4. 15 *uitae summa breuis spem nos uetat incohare* [Mr. Plessis prints *inchoare*] *longam*, 'Smith notices the antithesis between *breuis* and *longam*'; I. 21. 15 *Britannos*, 'the inhabitants of the island of Britain, now England'; III. 4. 21, 23 *uester . . . uester*, 'insistence by repetition.' Superfluities of this kind could easily have been spared; so could many of the longer notes.

The criticisms just made concern the plan rather than the execution of the commentary. The notes contain a great deal of common sense and honest thinking, and the editor does not forget that he is commenting on a poet. He brushes aside much of the hypercritical rubbish which has grown up around the *Odes*. There are several good remarks on Horace's vocabulary, and some (not all) of the notes on syntactical points will be found useful and instructive. In matters of mythology, geography, and *Realien* in general the edition is very nearly self-sufficient. The literary parallels and illustrations

are an attractive feature. But while gratefully admitting all this, one must confess to a feeling of disappointment. Many of the notes are quite unworthy of the reputation which Mr. Plessis deservedly enjoys. It is unnecessary and undesirable to cite many instances, but a few may be given.

The comment on I. 2. 15 confuses the Regia with the Atrium Vestae (it is confused with the Temple of Vesta in the note on IV. 2. 35). The note on v. 50 of the same ode assumes that *princeps* must mean *princeps senatus*, and the editor seems to have no suspicion of another possibility. In I. 3. 6 *finibus Atticis* is taken as ablative. Since the editor (rightly) interprets *reddas* as 'duly deliver,' it is difficult to see what advantage is supposed to be gained by preferring a construction which is so unnatural and improbable in its context. I. 4. 13 *aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas*, etc.: 'it was the custom of the ancients to kick the door in order to gain admission or announce their arrival.' This quaint notion seems to be derived from Orelli.

Turning to Book III., we find a very unsatisfactory note on *purpureo bibet ore nectar* (3. 12), with no reference (save perhaps a very vague implicit reference) to the strongly supported and very important variant *bibit*. With *uxere tigres* in v. 14 of the same poem we are bidden to supply *in arces igneas* or *in caelum*, but no further elucidation is vouchsafed. In 5. 15 the editor reads *exemplo trahenti*; the reading *trahentis*, he says, would have the force of an apodosis, while the co-ordinate participle *dissentientis* would not. If he will look at the passage once more, he will probably find that this is not so. The note on 5. 22, 'tergo abl. (=post tergum),' can scarcely be called lucid. 'Sabellis = Sabinis' (note on 6. 38) is a dangerous statement. In 14. 11 he takes his courage in both hands and reads *non* (suggested, but rejected as too bold, by Bentley) *uirum expertae, male ominatis*. . . . One scarcely expects that this will find many converts. In the introduction on metre, to which the note refers the reader, the hiatus is excused on the ground that *male ominatis* practically forms one compound word. One wishes that

Mr. Plessis (who is the author of a treatise on Latin metric) would 'explain his explanation.' In 18. 5-7, *si tener pleno . . . craterae*, Kiessling's ludicrous explanation is approved; yet Mr. Plessis is a sincere believer in *Horatii curiosa felicitas*! In 23. 17 *immunis* is translated 'guiltless.' The ellipsis of a genitive is excused by a reference to Sen. *Herc.* 214 (wrongly printed '216'), where the genitive is easily supplied from the context, and where *immunis* does not mean 'guiltless.' Mr. Plessis really ought not to make light of a serious subject in this way. One has a good deal more sympathy with him when he flouts the difficulties in *Tyrrenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum* (24. 4).

Had space allowed, similar remarks might have been made on the notes to Books II. and IV. The introduction to the *Carm. Saec.* is good in several respects, though it omits one or two interesting points. See, for example, *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910), pp. 145 ff.

In I. 23. 5 ff. Mr. Plessis retains the traditional reading, while granting that *uebris inhorruit ad uentum* gives good sense. To the familiar objection that at the beginning of spring the leaves have not yet come out, he replies that 'le poète peut avoir eu une distraction.' In III. 4. 10 he obviously meant to write *altricis extra limina Dauniae*, but the text as printed most unfortunately has *limen Dauniae*. The words are taken to mean 'outside the house of my Apulian nurse.' Mr. Plessis does not, like so many editors, shirk a translation of *extra limina*. The rendering given suggests some interesting queries, but the reader's curiosity is left unsatisfied. The note is very meagre, and says nothing about the textual question beyond a reference to the *app. crit.*, which records but does not discuss.

The introduction contains a life of Horace and a literary study of the *Odes*, both to a large extent repeated from the editor's well-known *La poésie latine*, though account is taken of recent investigation of the site of Horace's villa. Mr. Galletier adds an interesting history of the text and interpretation of the poet, but he is rather hard on Bentley. In the grouping and valuation of the

MSS. he inclines to the views of Lejay. There are several misprints in the book; the most annoying, apart from *linen Dauniae*, is 'XI^e siècle' for 'IX^e siècle' in the dating of Bernensis 363 (p. lv.) On p. lvii. the same MS. is numbered 362. The book has gloriously wide margins, but the typography of the notes is lamentable.

2. Mr. Ussani's commentary on the *Odes* and *Epodes* first appeared about a quarter of a century ago. We now have before us the second edition of Vol. I., containing the first book of the *Odes* together with the *Epodes*. The revision has been thorough, and many changes have been introduced. The text is more 'conservative'; in particular, the editor has renounced all the emendations of his own which appeared in the first edition. The book is intended chiefly for schools, but advanced scholars will find it both instructive and stimulating. It is the work of a first-rate scholar, an enthusiast, and a man of refreshingly independent judgment. The note on C. I. 2. 43 (identification of Augustus with Mercury) may be mentioned as one example of the light which his wide knowledge sheds on not a few passages. The literary illustrations are apt, and are drawn from a wide field. The treatment of linguistic

points, though brief, is generally satisfactory. It is true that the editor has his wild moments, as when he treats C. I. 16. 5-7, *non adytis . . . aeque*, as a parenthesis and punctuates accordingly, or when he proposes a fantastic interpretation of *ueris inhorruit aduentus folis*. Like Mr. Plessis, he believes (surely without reason) that *hederae* in C. I. 1. 29 is consciously used as a less ambitious word than *laurus*, which appears in the last ode of Book III.; but he goes farther and uses this theory as an argument to prove that the first ode of Book I., so far from being, as regards date of composition, one of the latest in the first three books, is one of the very earliest. There are other cases where Mr. Ussani's originality and independence seem to produce unwarranted fancies. Nevertheless, the edition is a noteworthy one, and all lovers of Horace who can read Italian should possess it. It says new things well worth saying, and a genial sympathy with the poet informs it throughout.

Mr. Ussani has made much use of some English editions, and expresses high appreciation of them.

In the Introduction, p. xx, line 15, 'Crasso' should be 'Cassio'; on p. xxxvi, line 23, 'colezione' should be 'colazione'; and on p. xlivi, line 2, 'un' should be 'una.'

W. B. ANDERSON.

THE LOEB SENECA.

Seneca ad Lucilium: Epistulae Morales. With an English translation by R. M. GUMMERE, Ph.D., Headmaster, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia. Vol. III. Pp. vi + 464. Heinemann; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925.

THIS is the third and last volume of the Loeb translation of Seneca's letters. The second and third of those which it contains are perhaps the dullest things the philosopher ever wrote. Perhaps none of them is quite as attractive as some of the earlier ones, those, for instance, in which he draws the portrait of the *nouveau riche* Calvisius, and discusses the proper treatment of slaves or moralises on episodes of his holiday in Campania—the noisy lodgings, the

horrors of a sea-trip to Baiae, the almost equal discomfort of the return to Naples by the Posilipo tunnel. Still, even the two dull letters contain such oases as the delightful account of Nature's wise bounty in the one, and the attack on the miscellaneous menus of the day—reminiscent of medical articles in our popular journals—in the other. And several of the others are full of charm or interest or both. One may instance the ninety-seventh, in which Seneca, that notorious 'conuictor saeculi sui' actually undertakes to show that his age is no worse than others as regards love of luxury and immorality, *quae obiecit suis quisque temporibus*; the hundred and second, where the doctrine of the soul's immortality

inspires him with no little eloquence; the hundred and seventh, on resignation; the hundred and eighth, on vegetarianism; the hundred and fourteenth, on style as the mirror of morals; the hundred and twenty-second, a most entertaining essay on the 'Antipodes' of Rome, who turned night into day and day into night, and, it was alleged, *nec orientem solem uiderunt nec occidentem*.

The inclusion of these letters in the Loeb series will, I hope, spread the knowledge of Seneca in Britain and America, and widen the already considerable circle of his admirers. I am sorry to have to say that this translation seems to me to suffer from two serious defects. In the first place, it fails to reproduce one of the chief characteristics of Senecan style. The translator of Seneca is not often confronted with the difficulty that so often exercises the translator of Virgil or Tacitus—the difficulty of finding an English equivalent for some exquisite word of his original. It is Seneca's brevity that makes him so hard to translate; and here again we find little or none of the 'maimed' brevity of Sallust and Tacitus, which makes us pause at times and wonder whether a sentence is really Latin at all. Seneca's brevity is unmistakably Latin: all it does is by means of asyndeton, emphasis, apposition, and similar devices to push to its uttermost extreme that quality of the language which has made it so excellent a vehicle for the monumental inscription of all kinds. The translator who would write intelligible English will find himself continually forced to expand; all the more must he be continually on the look-out for an opportunity to economise, counting words, nay, sometimes syllables, with a care not usually required of one who is not translating into verse. In *Ep.* 95. 13 we read in Seneca 'postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt,' which this translation expands into 'when learned men have appeared, good men have become rare'; surely 'since savants arose, saints have vanished' is equally accurate, and it happens to involve only one more word than the Latin. In 103. 5 Seneca says (of philosophy) 'tibi uitia detrahant, non aliis exprobret.'

'Let it remove your faults, not censure other people's,' is the best I can do; the translation runs to sixteen words, with its 'let her strip off your faults rather than assist you to decry the faults of others.' In 95. 19 'inde tam multo aegrotamus genere quam uiuimus' must mean 'our ailments are as heterogeneous as our diets.' That *uiuimus* has the force I give it seems clear from the context; and Seneca has just said 'tis our multitude of courses has bred our multitude of ailments.' The Loeb rendering, 'there are as many classes of illness as there are classes of living men,' is not only too long, it does not give Seneca's meaning.

This brings me to my second, and more serious, difficulty. Occasional slips, like the rendering of 'utique si' by 'provided that' (94. 37), 'quid quod . . .?' by 'Why? Because . . .' (95. 12), 'cum maxime' by 'especially' (95. 14), '(membra) iam superuacua' by 'already useless' (102. 27), are of no great importance; but in quite a number of cases failure to understand the Latin has produced something that is in violent conflict with the context or, it may be, known facts. In *Ep.* 94. 28 Seneca is handling the question whether mere rules (*praecepta*) suffice for the conduct of life, or whether we need also a statement of the principles on which the rules are based; *probationes* he calls them here, though generally he calls them *decreta*, as we shall see farther on. He quotes sayings like *te nosce* as instances of 'rules,' which seem to carry with them the evidence of their truth, and then proceeds: 'numquid rationem exiges cum tibi aliquis hos dixerit uersus: *iniuriarum remedium est obliuio?*' etc. *Ratio* here clearly corresponds to *probatio*: 'will you insist on being told why it is so?' The translator's 'shall you not call yourself to account?' misses the whole point. In § 46 of the same letter the reader of the translation will be surprised to find Seneca saying that Agrippa was 'the only person among those whom the civil wars raised to fame and power who prospered in his statecraft.' One hardly thinks of Agrippa as a statesman at all. Anyhow, the Latin is 'felix in publicum fuit,' 'his prosperity redounded to the public

weal.' In 95. 19 (just before the passage commented on above) Seneca remarks 'that so many dishes must needs disagree and be indigestible,' and adds 'nec mirum quod inconstans uariusque ex discordi cibo morbus est,' which is translated 'and no wonder, for diseases that result from ill-assorted food are variable and manifold.' 'For' has no sense here: Seneca is adding a point, not explaining the previous one, and 'quod' means 'the fact that.' The Teubner text is partly responsible here, I think: it has dropped one of its abundant commas after *mirum*, and Dr. Gummere follows the lead. In 95. 60 Seneca is again concerned with the debate 'rules' v. 'principles,' or 'doctrines,' as Dr. Gummere here aptly enough turns *decreta*. 'Non intellegunt hi qui decreta tollunt,' he says, 'eo ipso confirmari illa quo tolluntur.' What can one make of the sentence 'they do not understand that these doctrines are strengthened by the very fact of their removal,' which stands in the translation? Seneca means, of course, that the importance of *decreta* is established by the very arguments with which attempts are made to disprove it. The sentences that follow make all this perfectly clear: and, after all, what else can the Latin mean? In 96. 3 Seneca writes: 'Vesicae te dolor inquietauit, epistulae uenerunt parum dulces, detimenta continua: propius accedam, de capite timuisti. Quid? tu nesciebas haec te optare, cum optares senectutem?' The evils in the first sentence are, I think, imaginary. 'Have you had bladder trouble? Has bad news reached you by letter? Have you had a run of losses? Nay, I'll come nearer home, and ask, "Have you had reason to fear for your life?" What of it? Didn't you know?' etc. Dr. Gummere has completely misunderstood the passage, and thinks that the letters in question came from Lucilius, and that *detimenta continua* means 'you were continually getting worse'; *propius accedam* (for which it is certainly most difficult to find a phrase) he turns 'I will touch the truth more closely.' In 100. 2 we read: 'Fabianus mihi non effundere uidetur orationem, sed fundere: adeo larga est et sine perturba-

tione, non sine cursu tamen. Illud plane fatetur et praefert, non esse tractatam nec diu tortam.' The subject of *fatetur et praefert* is of course *oratio*, the style of F.: 'one thing it shows plainly enough—viz. it hasn't been mauled about and racked for hours.' Dr. Gummere translates: 'This is indeed what he announces clearly in his preface, that,' etc. In 104. 28 'quam' refers to *iuuentus*, not *corruptela*; in 108. 22 *calumnia* is 'prosecution' (*delatio*), not 'gossip'; in 110. 8 *illa* is ablative, not nominative; in 113. 20 *iuste decernere* is 'to vote righteously,' not 'hand down just opinions.' In 108. 37 'eripienda sunt uento uela' means 'he must furl sail': apart from the question of Latinity, Seneca will hardly require his ideal 'governor' to 'let his sails be torn away by the winds.' In 115. 3 Seneca is describing some of the qualities which the good man's soul, could we inspect it, would reveal: 'thriftiness, moderation, endurance, refinement, affability, and—though hard to believe—love of one's fellow-men, that good which is so rare in men.' So the translation; but Seneca writes 'frugalitas, etc., et—quis credit? —in homine rarum humanitas bonum,' i.e. 'and love of humanity, a virtue, incredible as it may seem, rarely found in human beings.' In 118. 1 Seneca quotes a famous sentence from Cicero's correspondence in the form, '(iubet ut) si rem nullam habebit, quod in buccam uenerit scribat,' which is translated, 'even if nothing enters your head to write about, write anyhow.' Here again the odious comma after *uenerit* in the Teubner text and Dr. Gummere's helps but to confuse.

I am sorry to have to stress these points; they seem to me important and rather numerous. On the whole Dr. Gummere has done his work well: it shows many signs of care and conscientiousness. I have not noticed a single case of a clause getting omitted in translation, an accident liable to befall any translator, and particularly liable to befall the translator of an author with Seneca's staccato style. The difficult letter No. 114 is very well rendered; indeed it is not, as a rule, in the difficult passages that the translation fails to satisfy. It must

be remembered that the translator of Seneca is practically an explorer, with none of the convenient commentaries at hand which are available to the translators of most of the classical writers. In such cases the saw *σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω* has double weight. But I find it hard to forgive Dr. Gummere for having at *Ep.* 97. 16, where Professor

Capps had given him the right rendering of *patientia*, relegated this to a footnote¹ and put his own impossible one in the text.

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¹ His rejection of Professor Capps' version of *illa natura et graua de praesentibus soluerent* is, however, perfectly sound.

THE HISTORIA AUGUSTA.

The Historia Augusta: Its Date and Purpose. By NORMAN BAYNES. Crown 8vo. Pp. 149. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 7s. 6d. net.

IN Vol. XXXVIII. (1924) of this *Review* Baynes sought to prove in an article of not quite four pages (pp. 165-169) that the so-called *Historia Augusta* was composed under Julian the Apostate. I confess that at first I was sceptical and shook my head. Baynes has now produced a book of 149 pages in which he supports his thesis in detail; and this book, I may say at once, has convinced me.

It is common knowledge that the *Historia Augusta* professes to date from the age of Diocletian and Constantine. In 1889 (*Hermes*, Vol. XXIV.) the impossibility of this chronology was demonstrated beyond refutation by Dessau, and on Dessau's article is based all subsequent critical discussion of the problem which was first clearly formulated by him. To-day no competent judge still believes the *Historia Augusta* to be a product of the age of Diocletian and Constantine. But the question remains: from what date does this mysterious *corpus* come? Dessau's answer had been the time of Theodosius the Great. Otto Seeck argued for the year 409-410, to say nothing of the fantastic placing of A. von Domaszewski, who ascribed it to the period of Gregory of Tours (the end of the sixth century).

For these datings, of which Dessau's seemed the most plausible, Baynes proposes to substitute the year 362-363. 'Are there in fact,' he asks, 'in the *Historia Augusta* traces of a later date than 363, as Dessau claims?' Without doing violence to the text, he

succeeds in depriving of their cogency the alleged indications of composition after 363. Here Baynes stands on the same ground as Dessau to this extent: that for him, too, there is as little question of the work's origin in the age of Diocletian and Constantine as there is of a later recension (*Überarbeitung*). Further, Baynes admits the use of the *Caesares* of Aurelius Victor in the *Vita Seueri*; and, since the *Caesares* were written in A.D. 360, this year becomes the *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the *Historia Augusta*. Dessau had also maintained that the compilers used Eutropius, who dedicated his *Breuiarium* to the Emperor Valens. Since Eutropius wrote some time after 363, there would be no need to waste words over Baynes's theory if Eutropius were really proved to be a source of the *Historia Augusta*; but the parallels between the *Historia Augusta* and Eutropius can be adequately explained by the assumption, which has often been suggested, of a source common to both. On this side, therefore, Baynes's view encounters no difficulty.

The outcome of a careful reconsideration by Baynes of the arguments adduced by Dessau in favour of the Theodosian dating is that no trace is found of any reference to a year later than 363. In the same way Baynes deals with the anachronisms propounded by Seeck, and with the same result.

After Baynes has thus in the first section of his book—a section devoted to negative criticism—removed the whole of the objections to his new dating, in the second he sets forth his positive conception of the *Historia Augusta*. He emphasises the propagandist character of the collection,

which had previously been recognised by Tropea, and would explain the compilation as a *Tendenzmachwerk* in favour of the Emperor Julian. This theory is admirably fitted by the passage in *Vita Cari* 9 about Ctesiphon and a victory over the Persians. With Baynes's characterisation of the *Historia Augusta* as a pronounced *Tendenzschrift* I can only concur: in 1920 I used the words (*Hermes*, Vol. LV., p. 310), 'The whole undertaking is consciously directed to the service of pagan propaganda.' It is true that at that time I still believed the work to have had its origin in the Theodosian period; but the references to the Roman aristocracy which Dessau detected, and which he would refer to the time of Theodosius, do not by any means admit of being dated to year or day. Between Dessau's dating and that of Baynes there are only, roughly, some thirty years; and Dessau himself, as Baynes observes, had originally considered the possibility that the *Historia Augusta*, or at least some parts of it, was written earlier than 363—that is to say, before the death of Julian brought to an end the Flavian dynasty whose praises are sung in this collection of *Lives*. It is precisely this view which Baynes has now shown to be right. The key to the problem of the *Historia Augusta* is its relation to Julian; and to Julian, who could trace his descent to Claudius II.—the definite favourite of the *Historia Augusta*—Baynes has discovered a large

number of references. They culminate in the *Vita Alexandri Seueri*, the *Life* which previously presented the supreme problem. What was the meaning of this 'ludicrous, lying panegyric,' as Niebuhr called it a century ago? To that question Baynes has at length supplied the answer. The *Vita* is a propagandist's homage to Julian: as Baynes shows in the third section of his book, the portrait of Severus Alexander in this biography wears the features of Julian. It is familiar that Marcus Aurelius and Alexander the Great were the models always present to Julian's mind: as Hönn had already recognised, it is the characteristics of precisely these two personalities which are united by the biographer of Severus Alexander in his *Vita*, and, as Baynes has seen, it is in reality their admirer and imitator, Julian himself, whom the propagandist glorifies under the mask of Severus Alexander.

Thus, in my opinion, Baynes has spoken the decisive word. His book forms a landmark in research on the *Historia Augusta*: it is the most valuable publication on this subject since the pioneer essay of Dessau. A particularly pleasing feature of the work is the tone of the whole discussion—its restraint, its rigorous method, and, not least, the respect which the author shows for his predecessors, on whose shoulders he is conscious of standing.

ERNST HOHL.

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TREASON IN ROME.

Offences against the State in Roman Law and the Courts which were competent to take Cognisance of them. By PANDIAS M. SCHISAS, Diploma of the Faculty of Laws of the University of Athens, Doctor of Laws of the University of London. With a preface by S. H. LEONARD, B.C.L., M.A. Pp. xx + 248. London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1926. 10s. 6d. net.

THE subject of this book is one on which a work of value might be written. Historians and jurists alike would welcome a satisfactory summary of the problems in their present state, and they

would be still more grateful for some contribution to their solution. And contributions of a sort are not difficult to make. It is possible, for instance, to say something more than Mr. Schisas does about the reasons why the charge of *maiestas minuta* grew up beside that of *perduellio*, about the nature of the *quaestio* established by Saturninus, about the definition of the charge during the eighties of the last century B.C., about its application in particular forms as the sanction of particular constitutions, or about Mr. Plaumann's views of the *senatus consultum ultimum*, if that phrase may be

permitted. But these opportunities Mr. Schisas has omitted to take. To matters such as the dispute between Ludwig Lange and Mommsen over the *lex Appuleia*, or the evidence of the treatise *ad Herennium*, or Mr. Plaumann's contentions, he does not refer.

It is no work of supererogation when the writer of the preface (p. vii) announces that the author is a sound classical scholar. Some, indeed, of the peculiarities which this book contains do not call for complaint. *Façons de parler* such as 'magistrature' (passim), 'Prince Augustus' (passim), 'P. M. Scaevola' (p. 66) or 'Scipion the African' (p. 43) are merely less usual than intelligible. Other features, however, are more serious. A sample from the bibliography (p. 236) may raise the brows—'Tacitus: Annalium, Historia, Dialogis de Oratoribus.' So, too, may *plebiscitum Licinia-Sextia* (pp. 9 and 246), *ius prouocatione* (p. 46), *album iudicium* (passim), or the use of 'L. Ennium . . . recipi Caesar inter reos uetus' (Tac. Ann. III. 70) as evidence that 'L. Ennius was tried . . . for *maiestas*' (p. 193, n. 1).

In a second passage the writer of the preface says 'we have verified scores, if not hundreds, of the valuable footnote references which he' (the author) 'gives *in extenso* and have not discovered a single error.' It is a pity that the footnotes were not examined throughout. The first on p. 91 would be better for the loss of 'Cervilius Ahala'; the second on p. 134 might be altered with advantage;

so, too, might the third on p. 216, where *Salvius Julianus* has a mishap; and on p. 134 and p. 141 there are notes which run the gravest danger of seeming to impute to Mr. Strachan-Davidson views precisely opposite to those which he really held.

Mr. Schisas devotes thirteen pages to the history of the charges and 215 to the history of the courts which tried them; but it is to be feared that his treatment in general is no more satisfactory than his handling the authorities in detail. His attitude to the early history is quite uncritical, and his remarks on the later suffer from too frequent failure to understand the problems. They are problems, too, which cannot be faced successfully without a greater knowledge of Roman history than one which allows the speech of Maecenas to be quoted as evidence for the practice of Augustus (p. 192), or the *Appianus-acta*—the most artificial of all the pagan acts—to be used to illustrate judicial procedure (p. 206 ff.).

The most regrettable feature of the book remains. It comes from a University Press: and on p. xx Mr. Schisas writes 'that it has been possible to publish this work is due to a grant made from the Publication Fund of the University of London.' With the reputation of the University we are not concerned. But the appearance of this book in such circumstances affects the good name of British scholarship in general, and for that reason it demands a protest—of which the strength is not to be measured by its brevity.

HUGH LAST.

SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

Roman History, Literature, and Antiquities.
By A. PETRIE, M.A. Oxford : Clarendon
Press. 3s. 6d.

THE multiplication of school books, generally of an elementary kind, shows no signs of slackening. Where good and well-tried manuals are already in the field, it seems a pity to deluge the market with new and untried ones: far better revise old favourites! But here and there a new book is a real improvement on certain existing manuals, and this present 'compendium' is one of them. The book is a *multum in parvo*; and, though it will not supersede the Roman sections in Gow's 'Companion,' it ought to prove most useful in the classroom. It is true that this sketch deals mainly with republican history, but it will also

serve a larger purpose; and the illustrations—many of them admirable—are a real help to the text. The fatal flaw in the book is its lack of an index; this omission ought certainly to be remedied if (or when) the book reaches a second edition. The least satisfactory section is, perhaps, that on Roman religion; it is good as far as it goes, but it is curiously incomplete.

Latin of the Empire. Edited by W. K. GILLIES, M.A., and A. R. CUMMING, M.A. Blackie. 4s. 6d.

WE are glad to welcome a new and improved edition of this book, which has already proved valuable in the hands of competent teachers. The notes now given are, in the main, sufficient, but by no means always so. For example: the extract from Celsus, which runs to 3 pp. of text, has barely four lines of annotation; and the

prose preface to the twelfth book of Martial's epigrams has but a single note assigned to it. Yet this piece, without some reasonable assistance, is too difficult to be tackled by boys of sixteen or seventeen. The extracts from Lucan and Juvenal are good ; but there are rather too many passages, we venture to think, from Martial and Pliny—twenty-two of the latter to only one of Suetonius. We are glad to see some extracts from Quintilian ; but while they were about it, the editors might usefully have added a passage or two from Manilius. They may urge that their object was to include 'only those authors whose writings are likely to be studied in the highest classes in schools' ; yet they have found room for Celsus, who is not generally found in any school curriculum. In any future edition we hope that one or two extracts may be given from Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus, to say nothing of Claudian, whose poem on the Old Man of Verona is one of the most charming things ever produced in the 'Silver' Age. The introductory notes on the authors selected are very well done. There is no index.

Reddenda Minima. By T. E. BATTERBURY, M.A. Clarendon Press. 2s.

THIS is a translation book for beginners. Part I. consists of sentences, arranged under convenient headings (*e.g.* Relative Clauses, Participles, Impersonal Verbs) ; Part II. contains a number of miscellaneous sentences. Next comes a full vocabulary for the two parts. Part III. gives hints on translation ; Part IV. some easy continuous passages, with the meaning of all words that have not occurred in the two previous parts. Altogether a useful little book for 'prep.' schools.

Nocturnus : Dramatic Dialogues. By R. B. APPLETON, M.A. Clarendon Press. 1s. 9d. THE pieces included in this book are of the same type as the *Ludi Persici*, which have been so popular. They are intended to provide interesting reading in Latin for second-year pupils, and are meant to be read in a single term. There are a few illustrations given, but (as you might expect in a volume of the 'Lingua Latina' series) no notes, and no vocabularies. These 'scenes' are quite well done ; possibly some may even prefer them to the 'Colloquies' of Erasmus, though we think this hardly likely.

Triennium : A Three-Year Latin Course. By R. D. WORMALD, M.A. In three volumes. 3s. each. E. Arnold and Co.

AN attempt has been made in these books to provide everything necessary for a pupil's first three years of Latin : each volume represents a year's work. Books I. and II. contain no English-Latin vocabulary—wisely, we think, as it compels a boy to learn the various special vocabularies that are given. There are plenty of sentences, both Latin and English, to give practice to young students ; and at the end of each volume a small collection of continuous pieces, either invented or selected. The third book (Vol. III.) contains a really good selection of passages, both prose and poetry,

with a minimum of annotation. An adequate Latin-English vocabulary has been added. Mr. Wormald's *Triennium* certainly deserves a trial, especially in those secondary schools where a majority of the boys do not learn Latin for more than three or four years.

A Latin Grammar, with Middle Index. By

R. S. BATE, M.A. Hachette. 3s.

THE aim of this book, says the author, is to provide a brief and simple statement of the rules of Latin Grammar, conveniently arranged. The index is to be found in the middle of the book, and the edges of the volume are 'stepped' to facilitate reference. The Synopsis of Grammar at the beginning is for rapid revision ; it is certainly a useful feature. This new grammar seems very fairly complete, it is (so far as we have been able to ascertain) accurate in details, and the illustrative examples in the Syntax are well chosen ; but whether it was really desirable to add another Latin Grammar—even with a 'middle index'—to the many grammars already in the field is doubtful. Be this as it may, Mr. Bate has done his work well.

Easy Latin Readings. By G. W. MILNE, M.A., D.Litt. G. Harrap. 1s.

Juliana : A Latin Exercise Book. By MAUD REED. Macmillan. 2s.

THE 'Readings' are for the most part quite elementary, and intended for beginners. The passages all deal with Roman history, and have been written and arranged to familiarise a young learner with 'the salient points.' There is a good vocabulary. This book (published at a very low price) will be very useful in secondary and preparatory schools.—Miss Reed's book consists of grammar and sentences, of a quite simple order. Suitable for very young learners.

Greece. A short history by MARY HAMILTON.

Illustrated from the country, the monuments, and the authors. No map. Oxford : Clarendon Press. Pp. xix+250. 2s. 6d.

THIS admirably printed and admirably illustrated book contains ten chapters. There is just enough work, then, for a term ; and we venture to say that no better history of Greece has ever been written for young people. One of the best features of the book consists in the translations given—from Homer to Plutarch ; these give life and interest to the narrative. The illustrations are a delight, and they have been supplied with no niggard hand ; there are about 150 of them, and how different from the meanly ineffective woodcuts that once used to be doled out as head or tailpieces for chapters ! Mrs. Hamilton's book should be in use in every 'prep.' school in England ; we hope she will some day do for Rome what she has now done for Greece.

Sophocles, Philoctetes. Abridged and edited with notes by C. E. LAURENCE, M.A. (Bell's Shorter Classics.) 2s.

THIS book is somewhat in the style of Sidgwick's 'Rugby Editions' of Greek plays, only not quite so well done. Still it is quite a useful edition, containing about half the original, with

brief summaries of parts omitted. The notes are sufficient for their purpose, but there is no index of any kind. The book is very suitable for fifth form boys, and contains just enough for a term's work.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Latin Prose Composition. By the Rev. J. A. NAIRN, Litt.D. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Price 6s. (Library edition, containing the Versions, 7s. 6d.)

THIS admirable book, even without the name of the late Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' to it, would soon be recognised as the fruit of many years' careful teaching. It will prove as useful to younger teachers as to sixth form boys. More than half of it consists of a clear and concise analysis of Latin prose style, both in its historical development and in its differences from English. The introductory matter consists of eight sections: (1) Why do we write Latin prose? (2) the development of Latin prose, (3) chief divisions of Latin prose style, (4) language and rhythm, (5) translation of English into Latin, (6) various modes of learning to write Latin, (7) vocabulary, (8) English and Latin. The most valuable sections are those which deal with the different styles of Roman authors, illustrated by extracts and strikingly successful imitations. The hints on vocabulary and the difficulties of modern ideas are brief but stimulating. In his choice of passages for translation Dr. Nairn has left the beaten track of Burke and Macaulay, and has included a variety of lively extracts ranging from Shakespeare to Marryat. There are seventy-three of these selected passages for translation into Latin, and each of these pieces is provided with 'hints,' which are always helpful. The author of this book is careful to remind us, in his prefatory note, that his manual 'is intended as a contribution to the study of English as well as that of Latin.' He is fully justified in so doing. Altogether this work deserves a warm welcome as a valuable addition to the standard equipment of sixth form teaching.

Teachers will appreciate the fact that the book appears in two forms. The Versions given in the 'Library' edition are full of interest, and are distinguished by fine scholarship.

Dr. Nairn has also sent us a copy of a delightful little pamphlet—Buffon's *Discours sur le Style*. The French text is faced by a Latin version, written in the style of Quintilian. A brief introduction—in French—is also given. This brochure is published in Paris, in the 'Collections d'Études Anciennes,' under the direction of L'Association Guillaume Budé. The Latin version appears to be an excellent piece of work throughout.

E. H. BLAKENEY,
J. R. CULLEN.

The Business Life of Ancient Athens. By GEORGE M. CALHOUN. Pp. x+175. Cambridge University Press for University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1926.

THESE sketches of economic evolution in Greece, the Athenian grain trade, Greek banking and mines and mining, designed for the

general reader and undisfigured by any inappropriate paraphernalia of pedantry, are well done. They are written with knowledge and in an agreeable style. Others beside the general reader may peruse them with pleasure and profit, though they may grudge paying ten shillings for a little book about the size of the average volume in *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

W. D. ROSS: *The Works of Aristotle, etc.* Vol. XI.: *Rhetorica*, by W. RHYS ROBERTS; *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, by E. S. FORSTER; *De Poetica*, by I. BYWATER. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1924.

To possess side by side in one volume translations of the *Rhetoric*, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, and the *Poetics* is of considerable value to the student of Aristotle. But his gratitude is great when to the already classic translation of Bywater are added versions of such preeminent merit as those of Dr. Rhys Roberts and Professor E. S. Forster. That Dr. Roberts' version of the *Rhetoric* is rich in scholarship it is needless to say, but it is also peculiarly adapted to the English reader. Among many examples of this might be mentioned his skilful avoidance of unnecessary abstract words, his use of the term 'political' as clearer to an English reader than 'deliberative' for Aristotle's first category of oratory, and his translation of the exaggerated metaphor of Alcidamas (1406b) as a 'goodly looking-glass (*not "mirror"*) of human life.'

Professor Forster's translation of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* is no less scholarly and lucid. The text he uses differs from that of Spengel, not only in the adoption of a certain number of readings taken from the Hibeh Papyrus, but also in the rejection of some arbitrary emendations of Spengel, to which he refers in footnotes. Professor Forster suggests a date slightly anterior to 300 B.C., and attributes the work to a Peripatetic writer contemporaneous with Theophrastus.

Copious footnotes and a full index add to the value of both these translations, and the Editor has supplemented Bywater's version of the *Poetics* with similar assets.

S. K. JOHNSON.

L. COOPER: *The Poetics of Aristotle: its Meaning and Influence.* (*Our Debt to Greece and Rome*.) London, etc. : Harrap, 1924.

PROFESSOR LANE COOPER has added a useful little book to the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*. In his second chapter he has given a lucid summary of the scope and content of the *Poetics*—a summary which should be of value to students taking courses in literature who have not hitherto been able to acquire in so popular a form an accurate idea of what the *Poetics* actually says. Possibly such a reader could have dispensed with Chapter 4, where the *Tractatus Coislinianus* is summarised, and would have preferred an enlargement of Chapter 5, in which Professor Cooper deals with the special contributions of Aristotle to poetic theory. (The same reader might be somewhat misled by the apparent implication on page 74 that Greek

'middle comedy' could be compared to *The Tempest* in the same sense that *The Comedy of Errors* is representative of 'New Comedy.') Readers might have preferred in Chapter 3 some summary of Professor Cooper's own *Amplified Version of the Poetics*, with illustrations from Greek poets, in place of the rather unsatisfying application of the work to the biblical story of Joseph. The second part of the book contains a necessarily brief survey of the influence of the *Poetics* throughout the ages. The author rightly lays emphasis on the criticism of the Italian Renaissance, and consequently (as he says in his Preface) he finds it necessary to deal with the French critics in a summary fashion. He is justly appreciative of Castelvetro, and he shows that the cramping effect of Italian criticism has been overestimated. In so small a book Professor Cooper cannot give any detailed account of what precisely was owed to the *Ars Poetica* and what precisely to the *Poetics*, but his remarks on the matter are suggestive. The book should serve as a good introduction to a general study of the subject.

S. K. JOHNSON.

d. A. u. N.T., N.F. 18; 1922), pp. 3 ff. Still, these two volumes are a clear contribution to knowledge, and no student of Hellenistic thought can afford to ignore them.

A. D. NOCK.

Juden und Griechen im Römischen Alexandreia

Von H. I. BELL. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926. Price 2 MkS. 40 Pf. Sewn.

A CAREFUL treatment of the subject, for which Mr. Bell uses Philo, Josephus, and a vast amount of papyrus literature: for a notice of his publication of the most important piece, the reply of Claudius to an Alexandrian legation apologizing for an anti-Jewish riot in A.D. 38, see *C.R.* xxxviii. (1924), p. 212. We know of the final destruction of Jewish society in Alexandria under St. Cyril: Mr. Bell's account of their relations with their Greek neighbours during the first Christian centuries is an important piece of historical work, ingeniously put together from fragmentary Acts of Martyrs and non-literary remains. His bibliography appears to be exhaustive.

S. GASELEE.

Poseidonios. Von KARL REINHARDT. Pp. 476. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921.

Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Untersuchungen über Poseidonios von KARL REINHARDT. Pp. viii + 420. Munich: Beck, 1926. Unbound, M. 18; bound, M. 20.

THE name of Posidonius has in recent years been used widely as a label for much of the thinking of the first century B.C. and of the first century A.D.; he has been further held to be the father of astral mysticism, of the Greek element in Hermetic theosophy, and of Neoplatonism. Professor Dobson in a lucid paper, *C.Q.* XII. 179 ff., showed that the existing fragments of the philosopher's writings did not justify this superstructure of modern theory. Dr. Reinhardt's now celebrated *Poseidonios* has given a new impulse to negative criticism. Since its appearance R. M. Jones has shown that some elements in Cicero ascribed to Posidonian influence are simply due to Plato; E. Reitzenstein that the arguments for the use of him by Lucretius are illusory; E. Bickel that some cosmological ideas assigned to him may rather belong to Neo-pythagorean teaching.

But the new *Posidonius* and its sequel, which contains much new thought, in addition to matter omitted in 1921 owing to the financial straits of the time, does more than to destroy. It has given us a new picture of the philosopher as the last great thinker of antiquity to include man and nature in all its aspects in his survey and to evolve a system. The central conception of this system is the notion of a principle of life penetrating all things. Fully to discuss it would require more space and knowledge than the reviewer can command; in some ways it involves, like the adverse view, an element of subjectivity, as Dr. R. Liechtenhan has urged in his excellent monograph, *Die göttliche Vorherbestimmung bei Paulus und in der Posidonianischen Philosophie* (*Forsch. z. Rel. u. Lit.*

Inscriptions de Délos: Comptes des Hétropes (Nos. 290-371). By F. Dürrbach. Pp. 192. Paris, 1926.

THIS volume contains the accounts of the temple administration of independent Delos from 246 to 201 B.C., the accounts down to 250 having already appeared in *J.G.* XI. ii. The purpose of this note is only to call attention to the historical material contained in the new series of documents. The principal matter is the vase-foundations, which supply such valuable fixed points to chronology. Though these have long been known, the complete series is now for the first time clearly set out in Nos. 298, 313, and 320, all previously unpublished, 298 giving verbatim the dedications on the vases. The Stratonicē on whose behalf Gonatas founded the Stratonicēa in 253 seems however after all, despite the difficulties, to be the younger Stratonicē; for Kugler, from cuneiform evidence, has recently dated the elder Stratonicē's death to October, 254, and *τετέρη* cannot apply to a dead woman. The only other actual piece of historical evidence is, I think, the erection in 246 of the statue of Ptolemy III. (290, l. 130), already known; but the paucity of distinguished people's offerings after 245, compared with the earlier period, is illuminating. This volume will not yield much new information about wages, most of the work being piece-work; but it throws much light on architectural matters, as well as on the bad debts made by the temple.

W. W. TARN.

A Grammar of the Vulgate, being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible. By W. E. PLATER and H. J. WHITE. Pp. viii + 166. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1926. 6s. net.

KAULEN'S *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata* (Freib. i. B. 1904) has no rival in this country, for Nunn's *Introduction*

to Ecclesiastical Latin is at once wider and narrower in its scope. The present work is indisputably superior to Kaulen, being more intelligent, accurate, and up-to-date. If experts in classical Latin, Romanic languages, and Hellenistic Greek find provocative statements here and there in it, it will nevertheless prove most useful, and it is heartily to be welcomed.

A. SOUTER.

A Commentary on Cicero in Vatinium. With an historical Introduction and Appendices. By L. G. POCOCK, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in Latin, University College, London. Pp. viii + 200. University of London Press, Ltd. (Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd.), 1926.

THE *In Vatinium* is not one of Cicero's most attractive efforts. Mr. Pocock, indeed, finds parts of it 'extremely entertaining'; but an editor naturally regards the subject of his edition with the feelings, if not of a father, at any rate of an uncle, and can discern redeeming features in the most repulsive of his nephews. Yet the speech, though devoid of literary merit, is not without interest for the historian: it raises the question, perhaps even more obviously than does the *Pro Sestio*, of Cicero's relations at this period with Caesar, and throws some light on the proceedings in the trial of Sestius in particular, and on the position of witnesses in general. It deserves therefore the honour of a new edition; the only other one in English is that of Long, 1858.

The notes are adequate; they make clear the few difficulties of translation: if they do not touch textual problems except occasionally, that is because the editor is writing for the historian rather than for the scholar. Forty-five pages of Introduction and 67 of Appendices may seem a heavy burden to be carried by 18 of Text, but the points discussed are mostly of real importance, and the conclusions often new. Some readers will still think that all through the speech Cicero is desperately afraid of offending Caesar, but few will hold out against Mr. Pocock's vigorous defence of Vatinius. The appendices on the relations between the witness and the prosecution, and the prosecution and the defence, and on the probable identification of the Vatinian with the Julian law are especially thoughtful and interesting. J. B. POYNTON.

Characters and Epithets: A Study in Vergil's Aeneid. By N. MOSELEY, Professor of Classics in Albertus Magnus College. Pp. 104 + liv. London: H. Milford, 1926. 10s. 6d.

THIS is a dissertation presented by a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in the University of Yale; it is a specimen of what is known in such products as research. The kind of research here pursued is embodied in about fifty pages of lists, in alphabetical order, of (1) all the personal names in the Aeneid to which epithets are added, and the epithets (including descriptive phrases) used with each; (2) all the personal epithets in the Aeneid, and the names to which they are attached. These lists are, no doubt,

useful for convenience of reference. The rest of the volume consists of a general discussion of the use of such epithets by Virgil, and the differences in this respect between him and his Greek or Latin predecessors, followed by a more detailed study of the epithets used of five characters in the poem—Dido, Juno, Venus, Ascanius, and Aeneas himself. Of what use it is to ascertain that in the Argonautica the name 'Iōs' occurs 41 times, and 'Aiorōdys' 58; that the name Aeneas occurs in the Aeneid 213 times, 78 times with an epithet; and the name Turnus 151 times, with 27 epithets applied to him, is hardly obvious. We are gravely told that 'to remind the reader that Dido was a Carthaginian is probably the purpose of the epithets *Sidonia* and *Phoenissa*'; and that 'the use of *infelix* in connection with Dido's unhappy love for Aeneas serves to give additional pathos.' The only part of the study which claims much attention is a discussion (pp. 55-67) of the double line of descent from the sons of Aeneas by Creusa and Lavinia, and the apparent inconsistency or confusion in Virgil's treatment of a perplexed tradition. This is a real problem; and it is dealt with carefully, if ponderously, and with many irrelevances. That a L. Julius Caesar was consul in 64 B.C. might have been stated, if there was any occasion to state it at all, without citing, as authority for the fact, 'Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, Vol. ii., p. 455.' A little later (p. 67) a line from the Metamorphoses is misquoted, and a wrong reference given for it.

Nearly fifteen years ago the late A. D. Godley wrote in the *C.R.* of these doctoral dissertations as 'when they did not endeavour to erect a many-storied edifice of highly controvertible conclusions on the quaking sands of a *petitio principi*, adopting the safer, if less ostentatious, method of proving, by a multiplicity of instances, what is perfectly obvious already.' This is unhappily as true now as it was then.

J. W. MACKAIL.

The Deeds of Augustus. By DAVID M. ROBINSON. (Reprinted from *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XLVII., No. 1.) Pp. 1-54, with 7 plates.

THIS is a reprint of an extremely valuable article by Professor D. M. Robinson, of the Johns Hopkins University. It was known before the war that fragments of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus had been found at Pisidian Antioch, and Sir W. M. Ramsay had published a large number of them in *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. VI., pp. 108-129. Since then Mr. Robinson has discovered still more, and has with exemplary skill and patience collected and pieced together all the fragments, which are now published (as a text of the *Res Gestae*) under the fitting title of *Monumentum Antiochenum*.

This revised text is full of interest. It is in Latin, since Antioch was a colony, and so no Greek version was appended, but the new readings it gives tend to show that the Greek of the Ancyran monument follows the Latin more closely than was imagined. For instance, in I. 5 the new reading is 'Dictaturam . . . non

recepī (*οὐκ ἐδέχαμεν*), and in the next sentence the new variant '*Non deprecatus sum in summa frumenti penuria*' corresponds more closely to *οὐ παρηγόραμην* than the 'non recusavi' suggested by editors. Similar closeness will be found at the end of V. 16, where '*quater milliens circiter*' corresponds to *τύπις*, and at the beginning of 18, where '*publicae opes*' is much nearer to *θηρόσιαι πρόσοδοι* than the proposed '*vectigalia*'.

In I. 1 'a dominatione' is read, and in I. 3 the conjecture '*veniam petentibus*' is confirmed. In II. 5 Haverfield's restoration of '*intra perpaucos dies*' is shown to be correct, and in III. 7 '*Princeps senatus*' receives support, while in IV. 11 '*iuxta aedes Honoris*' becomes '*ante aedes Honoris*'. Most interesting of all, in IX. 34 comes the new reading '*Post id tempus auctoritate praestiti omnibus, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui . . .*', where the word '*auctoritas*' is very significant, and far more definite than the usual restoration *dignitas*'.

This is then a real contribution to our knowledge of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus. But I could wish that Mr. Robinson had not decried so consistently the efforts of his predecessors. His own work is good enough : there is no need to tell us where Mommsen or Ramsay was 'wrong,' or what Hardy does not 'know,' and this is what he does on every other page. Playing at omniscience is a dangerous game nowadays, but surely Mr. Robinson should 'know' of the editions of the *Res Gestae* by Allmer, in 1889, and by Malcovati, in 1919, and might have mentioned Haverfield's conjecture '*intra perpaucos dies*,' which is here borne out.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

C. Suetoni Tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus. Edidit apparatu et commentario critico instruxit RODNEY POTTER ROBINSON. Pp. x+80. Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925.

MR. ROBINSON's preliminary study of the manuscript basis of this work was noticed in *C.R.* 1924, 90. The edition which he has now published is equipped with a copious *apparatus* and full notes on controversial points, as for instance on the name Laevius (3. 3) and on the spelling Zmyrna (18. 1). His conjectures in 3. 4 *conductus < esse dicitur atque in Hispaniam deductus>* ut Oscae doceret, 13 *Eros <libertinus>*, 28 *cornibus arietis* are attractive, as is also his tentative proposal in 25. 7 *eas <meditationes rhetores Latini conten>tiones, Graeci οὐράοις uocabant*. *Ιεπὶ ἀλύεος* for *perialegos* in 9. 2 is ingenious, but the form of the genitive is hardly possible, unless the work which Orbilius so designated was a poem.

Our feelings to the editor must be feelings of gratitude. Gratitude has been defined as a thankful acknowledgment of favours past and a hopeful anticipation of favours to come. May we hope that Mr. Robinson will make us further in his debt by editing the other remains of the *De uiris illustribus*, Reifferscheid's edition being both old and hard to procure, and by clearing up in some measure the question

recently reopened by Behrens¹ of the later use of that treatise?

A. D. NOCK.

The Scriptores Historiae Augustae. With an English translation by DAVID MAGIE, Ph.D. In three volumes. Vol. II. Pp. xliv+485. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann; and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924. 10s. net.

IN our notice of the first volume of this work (*C.R.* XXXVIII. 181) we called attention to certain surprising inaccuracies of translation : the present volume is less open to criticism in this respect, but there are some curious renderings. *Iumultuaria manus* means 'an irregular force,' not 'a turbulent band' (*Gord.* XV. 2); *lactes* means 'roes,' not 'milk' (*Elaç.* XXIII. 8 : the 'milk' of lampreys and pikes is a strange conception!); *publicari* does not mean 'to be publicly disgraced' (*Sev. Al.* XXXIV. 2), nor *decurrere* 'advance to the attack' (*Max.* VI. 1 ; the reference is to the manoeuvre known as *decurcio*); *castrenses ministri* are not 'camp-servants' but 'court-lackeys' (*Sev. Al.* XLI. 3). It is rather misleading to give '*fratricide*' as a rendering of *parricida*. The editor has suggested a few emendations in the very corrupt text. *Dicens : <diceris>* makes good sense in *Max.* IV. 7, but others seem unnecessary (*agebat* is not so good as Peter's *agere* in *Sev. Al.* XXIII. 2), or are rather long shots ; one would like to accept *operam dabant* for *ambulabant* in *Sev. Al.* XLV. 3, but *impatibilia . . . dictu*, 'intolerable to relate,' will not do ! The brief notes may be found useful ; but in saying that the appointment of Ulpian and Paulus to the prefecture of the Guards was 'an important step in the transformation of this post from a military office to a judicial one,' Dr. Magie forgets Papinian. The Introduction gives an account of recent contributions to the vexed problem of the date and sources of the *Historia Augusta*, but was, of course, written before Mr. Norman Baynes' essay had appeared. Perhaps Dr. Magie will express his view on the interesting suggestion made in that work in his concluding volume. 'Iridescent' is an odd spelling (p. 143).

H. STUART JONES.

Anthologia Latina. Pars posterior : Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Conlegit FRANCISCUS BUECHELER. III. Supplementum : Curavit ERNESTUS LOMMATZSCH. Pp. vi+178. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1926. M. 5 ; bound M. 6.25.

THIRTY years have intervened between the publication of Buecheler's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* and the appearance of this supplementary volume. Much new material has accumulated in the interval, thanks mainly to Italy and North Africa. Buecheler's collection included 1858 items ; the supplement continues the old numeration, and runs from 1859 to 2299. Most of the inscriptions now added had already found a place in Engström's very useful edition (1912), and many of the Christian items are taken from Diehl. The inscriptions brought to

¹ Cf. *C.R.* 1924, 89.

light since the appearance of Engström's collection are for the most part very short or very fragmentary. A notable exception is the epitaph of Allia Potestas (No. 1988), around which a stupendous mass of "literature" has grown. Lommatzsch writes a few useful comments on this inscription, but his notes are largely concerned with literary affinities; a fuller treatment was certainly desirable, even in a volume where the space at the editor's command was limited. The very puzzling epitaph of Julius Faustus (No. 2121) is still being actively discussed by scholars; our editor makes no contribution of importance to its elucidation. Since 1912 new light has been thrown upon many of the inscriptions in Engström's collection. The present editor takes due account of this; he is also very industrious in finding literary sources and parallels, in which task he has received generous help from Hosius. He omits several of Engström's inscriptions, and in accordance with Buecheler's original plan he strictly limits the number of Christian inscriptions included. A few of Buecheler's *carmina* are now given in a more complete or accurate form.

The metrical problems are many, and often desperate. The present editor cannot be accused of shirking them, whether we agree with him in particular cases or not. In some passages where he brusquely condemns a line he ought rather, perhaps, to have sought an excuse for it. No. 2068 is written in very fair elegiacs, but in v. 7 we find *duodecim inti natales ni numerarem*. The note says merely 'numerus hexametrum turbat.' But the synizesis of the two vowels of *duo* could easily be paralleled.

The volume is, on the whole, a useful and worthy supplement to Buecheler. If the commentary is sometimes disappointingly meagre, the same could be said of most commentaries on inscriptions. But Buecheler would not have left the much-debated No. 2054 without a word of attempted explanation.

W. B. ANDERSON.

Lateinische Umgangssprache. Von J. B. HOFMANN. Pp. xvi+184. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926. M. 5; bound, M. 6.50.

DR. HOFMANN, co-editor of the fifth edition of the Stoltz-Schmalz grammar, has provided in this little book a classification of Latin colloquial expressions, with numerous examples. He is not concerned with what he regards as the hopeless attempt to divide the extant remains of Latin speech into *sermo familiaris*, *vulgaris*, *plebeius*, etc.; as for the term 'Vulgar Latin,' he will have nothing to do with it. His aim is to discover, with the aid of modern languages, what kinds of expression are genuinely colloquial, and then to collect examples of these kinds from various Latin authors and present them in orderly arrangement. Colloquial language, he holds, is essentially emotional, while the ordinary language of literature, science, law, etc., is predominantly intellectual.

Dr. Hofmann occasionally seems to elaborate the obvious with unnecessary pomp and circumstance, and a few of his sentences (*e.g.*, the

first of paragraph 6) make one reverently bow one's aching head before the awful power of the German language. But the arrangement of the matter is clear, and even to advanced scholars the admirable collections of examples and the parallels drawn between Latin and other languages will be very welcome.

The bibliography, even with the supplement on p. 173, does not do justice to the author's wide reading. There are useful indexes.

W. B. ANDERSON.

The Roman Provincial Governor as he appears in the Digest and Code of Justinian. By HERBERT EDWARD MIEROW (Ph.D. Princeton). Colorado College Publications. General Series 140. Language Series, Vol. III, No. 1. Pp. 54. Colorado Springs: Colorado College, 1926.

SINCE the writer's aim is to give 'an account of the governor's functions as they are depicted in the juristic writings and constitutions accepted by Justinian as the law for his own time,' no 'reference is made, except incidentally, to the period at which a particular legal work or constitution originated.' Dr. Mierow has not attempted to illustrate the provisions of the Digest or Code by the evidence of contemporary literary works or of the papyri, nor has any effort been made to trace the historical development of the offices mentioned in the constitutions. The result of this abstention is that the author's treatment lacks actuality. Two examples will suffice. On *C.J.* IX. 12, 10 (prevention of armed retainers in the service of private citizens) Dr. Mierow writes (p. 38): 'These extreme penalties seem to indicate that the governor did not always do his utmost to prevent the rise of powerful landlords, and that affairs were often far from serene in the provinces.' There is no hint that there is any positive evidence from other sources in support of this 'indication.' On *C.J.* IX. 5, 1 (prevention of the maintenance of private prisons) the comment is 'apparently these great landlords even went to the extreme of having private prisons on their estates'; but there is no citation of *Lips. Inv.* 244, Cairo Cat. 67005, 18. In fact, Dr. Mierow in this Princeton Dissertation has given a useful summary in English of those provisions of the Digest and the Code which are concerned with the duties and the powers of the provincial governor—but he has not given more than this.

NORMAN BAYNES.

Forum und Palatin. By CHR. HÜLSEN. Pp. 102, 30 text illustrations, 64 plates, and a plan. Munich, etc.: Drei Masken Verlag, 1926. Sewn, M. 9.50; cloth, M. 12.50.

THIS attractive volume is part of a new series, *Die Baukunst*, under the general editorship of Dagobert Frey. Hülsen is a master of his subject, but this book is of a popular character, and, unlike his earlier book on the Forum, contains no references or bibliographies. Controversy is avoided: he does not mention Pinza's widely accepted identification of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, nor does he hint that any

part of the temple of Venus and Rome is later than Antoninus Pius. Such omissions make the book useless to serious students, but it is a clear and lucid sketch of the history of the region, illustrated by good plates, which include many interesting drawings of ruins now destroyed.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Studii critici di Filologia Classica e Moderna.

Vol. I., by ENRICO COCCIA. Pp. viii + 420. Naples : Rondinella e Loffredo, 1926. Paper, L. 25.

THIS volume consists chiefly of articles reprinted from periodicals. Sixteen sections, more than half the book, are concerned with antiquity. They vary greatly in scale and quality. Some are public discourses of a rhetorical character, others short notes on small points of history or scholarship. Cocchia is always ingenious, lively, and readable, and he makes many clever points, mostly in defence of tradition. He is a Latinist rather than a Grecian, and the worst article deals with Photius' account of Lucius of Patrae : his interpretation of this passage is logically unsatisfactory, and does violence to the Greek. His best work concerns Horace, Virgil, and Campanian topography ; but it is to be hoped that the printer's devil substituted *annem* for *aquam* as the second word of *Georgics* III. 14, quoted on p. 86. The most elaborate article deals with the origin of the Eucharist : the value of this must be judged by specialists.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de Obitu Theodosii.

Text, translation, introduction, and commentary. By SISTER MARY DOLOROSA MANNIX. Pp. xvi + 166. Washington : The Catholic University of America, 1925.

THE editor of this book has lost a great opportunity. It is the first annotated edition of any part of St. Ambrose, excepting the hymns ; and it is quite unsatisfactory. The *Oratio* is of considerable historical value, and in her historical notes alone does Miss Mannix do the treatise justice, though even these are too often jejune. The absence of anything but a partial and mediocre study of Ambrose's Latinity left a good opening here for linguistic annotation. There are few authors whom it is so easy and so satisfactory to annotate as Ambrose : if his vocabulary is rich and coloured, he repeats his ideas and his phraseology in such wise that one is hardly ever at a loss to explain him by himself. But Miss Mannix's notes are rarely, if

ever, sufficient ; they show little evidence of reading, even in her author. Above all, she has not realised that knowledge does not consist in the amassing of details, but in the use to which they are put. After perusing pages of notes like this :

‘nos crucifiximus . . . reges adorant : quem non adoramus ipsi adorant] isocolon, homoioteleuton, antithesis, arsis and thesis,’

what is the reader left with, save frenzy ?

This Patristic series started well and promised fruitful work in a neglected field. We should regret to discourage its young workers in later Latin, but they must learn that the battle is not to the swift. It is no kindness to students to publish their immaturities, and no service to the public which receives them. We look to the editors of the series to display their active and praiseworthy enthusiasm by publications of more than mushroom growth.

J. H. BAXTER.

Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus.

Edited by ALEXANDER SOUTER. 12mo, pp. 92. Aberdeen University Press, 1926. 5s.

IN this handy edition Professor Souter has produced what is the first critical text of the *Apology* published in Britain. Hardly more than half a dozen editions of the *Apology* have appeared from British presses, and none are of any critical value. In this edition use has been made of the eleventh century British Museum MS. Royal 5. F. xviii., and the editor has made distinct improvements in the orthography and the punctuation of the text. While primarily intended for the use of the senior students in Aberdeen, the book will be found acceptable to a much wider circle, though some disappointment will be caused by the suppression of variant readings. The improvement in the text of the *Apology* is considerable, but it would have been an advantage to have the apparatus given. Even senior students are not always aware that classical texts are not delivered as the Commandments were to Moses, in ready-made and inviolable form. No British scholar is as competent as Professor Souter to give us a good and full edition of the text, and we may hope that what he here has published is a propaedeutic to a *magnum opus*, which will finally redeem British scholarship from the just charge of neglecting one of the greatest of all works written in Latin. Meanwhile, Professor Souter's remark on the need for a Tertullian lexicon may inspire some younger student to undertake a work which is urgently required.

J. H. BAXTER.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers were read in Hilary term, 1927 :

February 4 : ‘Arsis and Thesis,’ Professor J. A. Smith.

February 18 : ‘Recent Speculations as to the

Order of Composition of Aristotle’s Political and Ethical Writings,’ Professor J. L. Stocks.

March 4 : ‘Ostia and the Roman Town House,’ Mr. R. Meiggs.

March 11 : ‘411 B.C. in Athens,’ Mr. P. A. Seymour.

CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

ON October 28, 1926, Dr. R. B. Onians read 'Egypt, Colchis, the Aethiopians, and the Garden of Eden,' a paper in which he studied the cultural relations between Colchis and Egypt, dealing with the nature of Circe (as hawk-goddess) and of Apollo Smintheus, and with the two kinds of Ethiopians (*Cambridge University Reporter*, November 30, 1926).

On November 11, 1926, Mr. J. T. Sheppard read a paper on the *Electra* of Sophocles (*C.U.R.*, December 14, 1926; printed in full in *C.R.*, 1927, pp. 2 ff.).

On November 25, 1926, Mr. C. T. Seltman read notes (1) on Hermogenes of Cythera, (2) on the administration of Bithynia under Claudius and Nero (*C.U.R.*, December 23, 1926; to appear in full in *Num. Chron.*, 1927). Mr. A. D. Knox read 'Iambica: or the Origin of Porson's Law' (*C.U.R.*, *i.c.*; to be printed in full in *Proceedings*, 1926).

On February 3, 1927, Mr. D. S. Robertson read notes on Pindar, *Pae.* II. 29 (ἐρέφον for

ἔρεκον); Terence, *Hecyra* 320 (*uxorine?* em for *uxorem*); Seneca, *Phaedr.* 628 (*amor fit placidus et Pluton senet*); Juvenal VII. 239 (*ipse pius* for *ipsius*); Apuleius, *Met.* XI. 5 (accepting Brant's *utrique* and reading *soli inclinantisque* for *solis incohantibus*) (*C.U.R.*, February 15, 1927; to be printed in full in *Proceedings*, 1927). Mr. H. T. Deas read a note on Pindar, *Isthm.* II. 42, defending *αὐγάς* as given by the scholiast (*C.U.R.*, *i.c.*).

On February 10, 1927, Miss B. S. Phillpotts read 'Some Notes on the Relation of Pictorial Representations to Literature in the Viking Age' (*C.U.R.*, March 8, 1927); and Mr. H. Mattingly communicated *Hilaritas*, connecting this coin-type with the festival of the *Hilaria* (*C.U.R.*, *i.c.*; to be printed in full in *Proceedings*, 1927).

On February 24, 1927, Professor A. Nairne read 'The Mozarabic Psalter' (*C.U.R.*, March 8, 1927; to be printed in full in *Proceedings*, 1927).

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).
(1927.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.—January 10. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek Art* [Oxford University Press, 1926] (W. R. Agard). Praised; but A. complains of 'lack of aesthetic appreciation', and criticises G.'s views on Lysippus.—E. N. Gardiner, *Olympia: its History and Remains* [Oxford University Press, 1925] (A. D. Fraser). Praised; but F. considers G. to be 'historian rather than archaeologist,' and in the latter sphere compares the work unfavourably with Poulsen's on Delphi.—March 21. W. A. Dittmer, *The Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascalias found in Rome* [Leiden: Brill, 1923] (R. C. Flickinger). A doctoral dissertation at Princeton. Praised; it has left its mark on Geissler's 'Chronologie der altattischen Komödie.'—April 4. Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923] (G. H. Chase). Highly praised; the work is partly the result of the authoress' studies in a modern School of Ceramics.

GRAMMAR.—January 10. H. C. Nutting, *The Latin Conditional Sentence* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925] (F. H. Fowler). The result of twenty years' study. 'Thoroughly original.' F. contests several of N.'s points, especially as to the use of the subjunctive.

HISTORY.—March 28. H. Dessau, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit. (II. Band. I. Abteilung)* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1926] (A. E. R. Boak). Carries on the political history from 14 to 70 A.D. Highly praised.—April 4. H.

Grant Robertson, *The Administration of Justice in the Athenian Empire* [Toronto: University Library, 1924] (W. R. Agard). 'An instructive monograph.'

LITERATURE.—March 7. T. W. Allen, *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission* [Oxford University Press, 1924] (F. C. Babbitt). Long review, favourable; but B. complains of obscurity of style and inadequacy of index.—March 14. E. K. Rand, *Ovid and His Influence* [Boston: Marshall Jones, 1925, in 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome'] (A. L. Wheeler). Highly praised.—March 21. W. B. Sedgwick, *The Cena Trimelchionis of Petronius, together with Seneca's Apocolocyntosis, and a Selection of Pompeian Inscriptions* [Oxford University Press, 1925] (E. T. Sage). 'Excellent in its adaptation to the needs of young students.'

PHILOSOPHY.—January 3. Margaret Y. Henry, *The Relation of Dogmatism and Scepticism in the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero* [Geneva, N.Y.: Humphrey, 1925] (J. Wight Duff). A Columbia University dissertation. Praised.—January 31. P. E. More, *Hellenistic Philosophies* [Princeton University Press, 1923] (Le R. C. Barret). Praised.

RELIGION.—April 4. F. Cumont, *Aster-Life in Roman Paganism* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922] (G. D. Hadzsits). Praised; but H. contests C.'s view that 'towards the end of the Republic faith in the future life was reduced to a minimum.'

[The issues of February 14 and 28, March 7 and 14 contain lists of classical articles in non-classical periodicals.]

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.
(JULY-DECEMBER, 1926.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—*Euripides' Ion* erklärt von U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [Berlin, 1926, Weidmann. Pp. iv+163] (Körte). Introduction, text, and commentary. A model edition, retaining much of the directness and freshness of the lectures on which it is based.—G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* [Oxford, 1925. Pp. xii+259] (Aly). Contains much of great interest; but B. has not proved his case.—A. Scheindler, 'Ομήρον ποιημάτα. *Text aus der Überlieferung hergestellt: Οδύσσεια* [Wien, 1925. Pp. xxiii+333] and *Textkritische Erläuterungen zur Ausgabe der homerischen Gedichte* [Wien, 1925. Pp. 196] (Aly). Reviewer disagrees with S.'s belief in the unity and uniformity of the Homeric epics, which colours both text and critical commentary.—*Plutarchi Moralia*. Recens. et emend. C. Hubert, W. Nachstdt, W. R. Paton, M. Pohlenz, W. Sieveking, I. Wegehaupt. Vol. I. recens. et emend. Paton et Wegehaupt [Leipzig, 1925, Teubner. Pp. xlii+354] (Bock). A marked advance on earlier editions.

LATIN LITERATURE.—J. S. Reid, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De finibus bonorum et malorum libri I., II.* [Cambridge, 1925. Pp. viii+239] (Philipsson). Fairly long review, drawing attention to weaknesses and omissions. Not the final edition, but a great advance even on Madvig.—E. S. Duckett, *Catullus in English Poetry* [Northampton, Mass., 1925. Pp. 199] (Rubenbauer). Welcome as a large collection of material, but requires sifting.—G. Rohde, *De Vergili eclogarum forma et indole* [Berlin, 1925, Ebering. Pp. 69] (Draheim). R. concludes that the Eclogues are a uniform creation and mark a new epoch in poetry; imitation of Theocritus is only superficial and of secondary importance.—P. S. Everts, *De Tacitea historiae conscribendae ratione* [Kerkrade, 1926, Alberts. Pp. 112] (Gudemann). Far above average dissertation. The main portion deals with dramatic structure, style, rhetoric; the last section discusses Tacitus' trustworthiness as a historian.—C. Suetoni Tranquilli *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*. Ed., apparatus et commentario criticis instrux. R. P. Robinson [Paris, 1925, Champion. Pp. vi+80] (Wessner). Careful edition for which reviewer expresses thanks, though he does not agree with R. in every detail.—J. Humbert, *Les plaidoyers écrits et les plaidoiries réelles de Cicéron* [Paris, N.D., Les Presses Universitaires de France. Pp. 293] (Klotz). Cicero's speeches represent in literary form the whole legal process rather than the actual speeches as delivered. Fruitful research which leads to a better understanding and fairer estimate of Cicero both as a speaker and as a writer.—J. Humbert, *Contribution à l'étude des sources d'Asconius dans ses relations des débats judiciaires* [Paris, N.D. Pp. 142] (Klotz). Valuable addition to our knowledge of the sources of Asconius. H. is the first to

recognise the exact nature of the acta diurna as documentary records of official proceedings in Roman public affairs.

HISTORY.—L. Pareti, *Storia di Sparta arcaica. Parte I.* [Firenze, N.D., Le Monnier. Pp. 276] (Lenschau). Contains an almost complete survey of the material; but reviewer does not agree with P.'s views, and in particular his dates are too high.—W. Weber, *Die Staatenwelt des Mittelmaeres in der Frühzeit des Griechentums* [Stuttgart, 1925, Kohlhammer. Pp. 52] (Gustavs). A picture of the Mediterranean world between 3,000 and 1,000 B.C. Contains very many acute observations.—F. Heichelheim, *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich* [Klio XVIII. Beiheft. Leipzig, 1925. Pp. 109] (Berve). Does not attempt to be exhaustive; useful preparatory work.—B. Laum, *Entstehung der öffentlichen Finanzwirtschaft (Altägypten und Frühmittelalter)* [Handb. der Finanzwiss. von Gerloff u. Meisel, Lief. 4-5. Tübingen, 1925, Mohr. Pp. 25] (Hommel). Carefully thought out and well founded. The great and characteristic differences between East and West emerge with particular clearness.—H. Bolkestein, *Het economisch leven in Griekenlands bloeitijd* [Haarlem, 1923, Bohn. Pp. 253] (Kraemer). A picture of economic life in Greece in fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Chapters on climate, agriculture, industry, slavery, trade, etc. Handy and clear.—M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten. Bd. I. Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft* [München, 1925, Beck. Pp. xvii+379] (Enszlin). Merits unreserved praise. Successive chapters deal with soils, irrigation, corn and other crops, vine, fruit trees, cattle. Based on copious literature, papyri, conditions in ancient Egypt, and modern Egyptian methods. Reviewer gives a full summary.

PHILOSOPHY.—M. Keller, *Ethik als Wissenschaft* [Zürich, 1925, Füssli. Pp. 148] (Nestle). Full of matter and fruitful in method.—K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie. Neue Untersuchungen über Poseidonios* [München, 1926, Beck. Pp. viii+420] (Nestle). Supplement to R.'s epoch-making book on Posidonius (1921). Reviewer is now entirely convinced by R.'s account, which completely reverses the views that have prevailed for the last fifty years.

LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR.—E. Kieckers, *Historische griechische Grammatik. Bd. I. Lautlehre* [Sammlung Göschen. Berlin, 1925, de Gruyter. Pp. 131] (Meltzer). Thorough and clear; very handy for teachers and students.—J. B. Hofmann, *lateinische Umgangssprache* [Heidelberg, 1926, Winter. Pp. xvi+184] (Rubenbauer). Details of colloquial Latin collected and lucidly explained. Instructive and stimulating; a model for further work on these lines.

EPIGRAPHY.—*Novaes inscriptions Atticae*. Ed. commentariisque instrux. J. J. E. Hondius [Leyden, 1925. Pp. 143] (Kolbe). A model of careful editing; the plates are a pleasure to read. Several of the inscriptions have not yet appeared in *C.I.G.* I².

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.—A. Lesky, *Alkestis, der Mythos und das Drama* [Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Sitz-Ber. Bd. 203, Abh. 2. Wien, 1925, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky] (Morel), Full of ideas and sound in method. Warmly recommended.—N. G. Politis, *Λαογραφικά*

σύμμετρα. A.B. [Athens, 1920 and 1921. Pp. 304 and 375] (Lenschau). P.'s collected papers edited by his pupils. Vast wealth of material, dealing mainly with mythology and folklore.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIRS,

On p. 19 of your February issue Mr. E. M. Walker concludes a review with the following words: 'That it should be necessary to furnish the reader with a translation of Solon's poems suggests the somewhat melancholy reflection that Greek history is now being studied, at least in the newer Universities, by those who cannot read Greek.' This is undoubtedly true. In like manner, if I were of atrabilious temperament, I might regret the continued printing of the Bible by the Oxford University Press, as indicating that Hebrew history is studied at an ancient University by persons ignorant of Hebrew, or deprecate the reprinting of Jowett's *Plato* and the publication of the Oxford *Aristotle* as giving rise to the

uncomfortable suspicion that there must be undergraduates at Oxford who study Greek philosophy without knowing Greek.

Mr. Walker implies that he would allow only Greek scholars to study Greek institutions. On this question, having no authority to send a troop of horse, I am not in a position to convince him; but Cambridge and some of the newer Universities hold that History is continuous; that the modern world is bound up with the history of the Roman Empire, and Rome cannot be completely isolated from Greece. The undergraduate cannot master all modern and ancient languages connected with the civilisations which he studies, and therefore a compromise is necessary. I feel, therefore, that Mr. Walker, who set out to curse the newer Universities, has blessed them by mistake.

J. F. DOBSON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Abbott (F. F.) and Johnson (A. C.) Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire. Pp. ix+599. Princeton: Princeton University Press (London: Milford), 1926. Cloth, 24s. net.

Abrahams (I.) Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great. Pp. xi+55; map and plate. (British Academy: The Schweich Lectures, 1922.) London: Milford, 1927. Cloth, 5s. net.

Abstracts of Theses. Humanistic Series. Vol. II. Pp. xi+505. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. Cloth, 15s. net.

Allinson (F. G.) Lucian, Satirist and Artist. Pp. 204. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London: Harrap. Cloth, 5s. net.

Babbitt (F. C.) Plutarch's Moralia, with an English translation. In 14 volumes. Vol. I. (1A-86A). Pp. xxxv+468. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1927. Cloth, 10s. net (leather, 12s. 6d. net).

Badolle (M.) L'Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélémy et l'hellenisme en France dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Pp. 14+414. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. Paper, 40 fr.

Bernhard (M.) Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura. Ein Beitrag zur Stilistik des Spätlateins. (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 2. Heft.) Pp. xii+367. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927. Paper, 23 marks.

Beth (K.) Religion und Magie. Zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage. Pp. xii+433. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. Paper, 14 R.-M. (bound, 16 R.-M.).

Bourgery (A.) Lucain. Tome I. Livres I-V. Texte établi et traduit. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926. Paper.

Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé. No. 14. Janvier, 1927.

Burch (V.) Myth and Constantine the Great. Pp. ix+232. Oxford: University Press (London: Milford), 1927. Cloth, 10s. net.

Carcopino (J.) Etudes Romaines. La Basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure. Pp. 416; 8 plans, 24 illustrations. Paris: L'Artisan du Livre, 1927. Paper, 30 fr.

Cary (M.) The Documentary Sources for Greek History. Pp. xi+140. Oxford: Blackwell, 1927. Cloth, 6s. net.

Chambray (E.) Esope. Fables. Texte établi et traduit. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1927. Paper.

Chantraine (P.) Arrien. L'Inde. Texte établi et traduit. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1927. Paper.

Chapot (V.) Le Monde Romain. Pp. xv+503; maps and plates. (L'Évolution de

- l'Humanité. XXII.) Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1927. Paper, 30 fr. net.
- Christopher* (J. P.) S. Aureli Augustini de Catechizandis Rudibus liber unus. Translated with an Introduction and Commentary. Pp. xxi+367. Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.: Catholic Education Press, 1926. Paper, 3 dollars.
- Classical Philology*. Vol. XXII., No. 1. Jan. 1927.
- Commentationes Philologicae in honorem Professoris Emeriti I. A. Heikel*. Ediderunt discipuli. Pp. vii+163. Helsingfors, 1926. Paper.
- Constans* (L. A.) César. Guerre des Gaules. Texte établi et traduit. Tome I (Livres I-IV). Tome II (Livres V-VIII). Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926. Paper, 20 francs.
- Craig* (J. D.) Jovialis and the Calliopean Text of Terence. Pp. xii+51. (St. Andrews University Publications, No. XXII.) London: Milford, 1927. Paper, 2s. 6d. net.
- de Vreeze* (J. G. W. M.) Petron 39 und die Astrologie. Pp. xvi+269. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1927. Paper, 4.50 fl.
- de Vries* (M.) Pallake. Pp. 73. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1927. Paper.
- de Waele* (F. J. M.) The magic staff or rod in Graeco-Italian antiquity. Pp. 224; illustrations. 1927. Paper.
- Diès* (S.) Autour de Platon. Essais de Critique et d'Histoire. 2 vols. Pp. xvi+243 and pp. 244-615. Paris: Beauchesne, 1927.
- Eitrem* (S.) Nasjonalgalleriet. Antikksamlingen. Pp. 55; illustrations. Oslo, 1927. Paper.
- Focke* (F.) Herodot als Historiker. (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 1. Heft.) Pp. 59. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927. Paper, 4 marks.
- Foerster* (R.) Libanius. IX. Libanii qui feruntur Characteres Epistolici. Prolegomena ad epistulas. Imprimendum curavit E. Richtsteig. Pp. vii+244. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. Paper, 6.20 R.-M. (bound, 8 R.-M.).
- Frank* (T.) Economic History of Rome. Second edition, revised. Pp. xi+519. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. Cloth, \$3.
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The Classical Review

JULY, 1927

HOT WEATHER IN THE CLASSICS.

Read before the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association, February 11, 1927.

'BEFORE excellence,' says Hesiod sagely, 'the gods that die not have put sweat, and long and steep is the way thereto.'¹ If anyone wants to appreciate this passage, let him do as I have done, and climb from Diana's Mirror to the modern town of Nemi on a warm day in August. Or the side of Pentelikon will do very well, even in April, if the weather is fine. Unless one has lived for a while either in the classical lands or in some country with a similar climate, he cannot feel and taste the numerous references to heat, sun, and dust in the classical writers *de tenero ungue*, as he should.² I intend to try this evening, with such small powers of description as I have, to take you in spirit away from the not very tropical atmosphere of Manchester in February to warmer scenes.

Let us start with the word of Hesiod, *iδρώτα*. In our Northern tongue we do certainly speak of sweat pretty freely in connexion with labour, despite the efforts of those delicate persons who call it by its medical equivalent—I wonder they have not thought of 'diaphoretic exsudation' as a truly modest phrase to use. Those who, being of English speech, prefer, like Shakespeare, to use their own language on occasion, can tell of a time

When service sweat for duty, not for hire.

But we do not use it so very commonly in literature as almost equivalent to 'physical exertion.' In Greek and in Latin it is different. Homer, for instance, brings back Odysseus and Diomedes from their night expedition absolutely dripping. They hurry through the camp, tie up the horses they have reived, pitch Dolon's armour on the prow of a ship, and then rush into the sea and splash vigorously, while the bath-water warms for a more elaborate cleansing. If anyone wants to know why they did not wait on shore for their baths, I recommend a brisk stroll through the streets of Naples (or any other town of about that latitude) on a summer night. If a horse is available, so much the better, and hotter. Homer is not occupied with the less dignified expressions of human nature; otherwise he might have sketched, for the benefit of philologists, what Diomedes said (he inherited his father's quick temper) when his improvised bridle slipped through his dripping fingers for the fortieth time, as his mount shied at a corpse and nearly threw him. As it is, he shows both heroes ready to drop with sheer moist heat, once they dismount:

αὐτοὶ δὲ ιδρόα πολλὸν ἀπεννίζοντο θαλάσσῃ
ἐσβάντες, κυήμας τε ιδὲ λόφον ἀμφὶ τε μηρούς.
αὐτὰρ ἐπει σφιν κύμα θαλάσσης ιδρόα πολλὸν
νίψεν ἀπὸ χρωτὸς καὶ ἀνέψυχθεν φίλον ἡτορ,
εἰς δὲ ἀσαμνθούς βάντες ἐνέστους λούσαντο.

Van Leeuwen is not often so absurd as when he cuts out the last line; he had forgotten his own good principles, and lent an ear to the separatists, Bergk and Ameis-Hentze.³ The heroes had no time for a long swim, and nothing less would

¹ *Op. et dies*, 289.

² Hor. *Carm.* III. 6, 24. Of course this does not mean, as tasteless commentators used to suppose, 'from the time (*i.e.*, youth) when the nails are tender' (when are they not, especially in a woman?), but 'from the very marrow,' as Unger and Orelli saw; cf. the girl in Automedon's epigram, *A.P.* V. 129, *kakο-*

τέχναις | σχήμασιν ἐξ ἀπάλων κινυμένην ὄνύχων—
i.e., she is steeped in the Charleston to the very marrow of her bones.

³ K 572 ff. See, for the views of Bergk, Ameis-Hentze, *Krit. u. exegesischer Anhang*, IV. Heft, p. 39. Shewan, *Lay of Dolon*, p. 227, does not deign to reply to such stuff.

have got two cleanly Homeric gentlemen comfortable. So, to hurry matters up, they scrubbed hastily with warm water as soon as it could be made ready, and they were cool enough to appreciate the comfort of it. The Greeks knew, if the Homeric commentators do not, that it is on a hot day, after sweating freely and getting tired, that a warm bath is really desirable. Pindar, who deals with athletes *patientes pulueris atque solis*, is the only poet I can think of, save Rupert Brooke, who celebrates that good gift of the gods.¹

οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
γυῖα τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμαγγι συνάορος.

Vergil, who being a rather delicate man² would be all the more sensitive to the discomforts of too much exertion, realises what a horrible mess Turnus would be in after his single-handed exploits in the Trojan camp,³ with dust entering at every joint of his armour, the all-penetrating dust of that dry coast south of the Tiber :

tum toto corpore sudor
liquitur et piceum (nec respirare potestas)
flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis
in fluum dedit. ille suo cum gurgite flauo
accepit uenientem ac mollibus extulit undis
et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.

Being of the most cleanly folk the world has yet seen, Vergil would feel intensely that Turnus must have been in a most filthy state, covered with a horrible paste of black dust, stuck on with blood and sweat. His imagination would enable him to feel, as he makes any discerning reader feel, the relief of that desperate plunge into the kindly river, which then carried on its 'reposeful waves' (Pindar's *μαλθακὰ* was perhaps in his mind) nothing worse than a little clean earth from the hills upstream ; for Rome did not as yet drain into it the collected foulness of her *cloacae*. Despite the weight of his equipment, Turnus enjoyed that swim. I hope he did not in landing, as I once did in climbing out of the Acqua Sacra, come into contact with one of those peculiarly vile prickly plants with which the neighbourhood abounds.

Of course, Greek wrestlers sweat abundantly, like those of any other nation or climate,⁴ but we do not as a rule, in this latitude, sweat freely with anxiety or excitement ; clammy hands are about the limit of our emotion with the thermometer in the neighbourhood of 50° Fahr. It is warmer in Lesbos, and Sappho dripped while sitting still,⁵ or as still as her excitement would let her.

ἀ δέ μ' ἵδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ | παῖσαν ἄγρει.

I have performed the same feat in a prosaic Neapolitan hotel, without even the exertion of trembling all over; but the censorious might say that my waist-line is a trifle less elegantly slender than hers probably was.

Of the primary cause of all this bodily heat, the glaring sunshine, we hear from ancient authors less than a Northerner feels on visiting the Mediterranean lands. They were used to it, as their descendants are to-day, and generally they could stand any amount of it with little discomfort. *Vita umbratilis, σκιατροφεῖσθαι*, are not words of praise. If a man avoided the sun much, he was thereby seen to be either effeminate or a wretched foreigner. Verres was the former. Not for him were the tours of inspection around the corn-growing districts of Sicily in the height of summer, *cum in areis frumenta sunt, quod et familiae congreg*-

¹ *Nemeans* IV. 4.

² Donatus, *Vit. Verg.* 8. Heat killed Vergil in the end; *dum Megara . . . feruentissimo sole cognoscit languorem nactus est*, ibid. 35.

³ *Aeneid.* IX. 812.

⁴ As Ψ 715.

⁵ Frag. 2 Bergk, line 13; that the lovers are sitting near, but not touching each other, appears from line 2.

gantur et magnitudo seruiti perspicitur et labor operis maxime offendit, frumenti copia commonet, tempus anni non impedit. His notion of the duties of a governor in harvest-time was to have a small town of marquees put up at the entrance to the harbour of Syracuse, *in ipso aditu atque ore portus*.¹ He had done his trekking (in an eight-man litter) some four months earlier, in March, when the roses bloom in Sicily.² Now he rested from his labours, before the exhausting business of going to bed for the winter, in company with persons not of the highest moral character, if we may believe Cicero. As to foreigners, the tale of Agesilaos' Persian prisoners is well known; he had them undressed before putting them up for sale, says Xenophon, 'wherefore the soldiers, seeing them all white from never stripping, and soft and unfit because they always go in carriages, concluded that this war would be no different from a campaign against women.'³ Indeed, their women, whether Greek or Roman, were not always *candidae* by any means. Cretan ladies at the court of good King Minos were white-skinned, as the frescoes show, and Attic vases testify as much for Athenian gentlewomen; but this certainly was not the case with even high-born dames of Achaian society. If Nausikaa did not come back sun-burned from the adventure at the river-mouth, it must have been because she was already so brown that a little more sun made no difference to her; and it is a good suggestion of Mackail⁴ that the standing epithet *λευκώλευος* means that the women's arms were white in contrast to their brown hands. It would not fit the short-sleeved, tennis-playing Italian girl of to-day, and in antiquity it obviously did not fit the working-women any more than it does now. Corinna was of a fashionably light complexion, although Ovid was not particular in that respect:

Candida me capiet, capiet me flaua puella,
est etiam fusco grata colore uenus.⁵

But her maid was brown as a berry, *fusca Cypassi*,⁶ and the Apulian country-woman whom Horace knew was *perusta solibus*.⁷ On the other hand, a petted, spoilt, city-bred slave-boy might be as free from sunburn as any hetaira:

quamuis ille niger, quamuis tu candidus essem,⁸

says poor Corydon, contrasting Menalcas and Alexis; the former, like Cypassis, was black but comely. But generally, the sunburned Greek man and the white-skinned Persian on the one hand, the comparatively fair Greek woman and the dark Egyptian or Northern African on the other, are the stock contrasts.

μελανθὲς ἡλιόκτυπου γένος,

Aeschylus calls the daughters of Danaos.⁹ But this is taking us off the classical beat into a much hotter climate.

One of the numerous sanities of the ancients was that they were little given to raving about Nature with a very large capital N, after the fashion of Wordsworth and other celebrators of the roses as growses and the breezes as blowses. That, however, is not to say that they, the creators of the most picturesque of nature-myths, could not feel the beauty of their own land and water. No one has ever given the effect of a flat Mediterranean calm so perfectly as Aeschylus,

*ἡ θάλπος, εὐτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς
κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εῦδοι πεσῶν,¹⁰*

although Kallimachos, with his mountain-noontide, is not an immeasurable

¹ Cic. *in Verr.* II. 5, 30.

² *Ibid.* 27.

⁶ *Ibid.* 8, 22.

³ *Hellen.* III. 4, 19 = *Agesil.* I. 28.

⁷ *Hor. Epos.* II. 41.

⁴ *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, p. 74.

⁸ *Verg. Ecl.* II. 16.

⁹ *Suppl.* 154.

¹⁰ *Agam.* 565.

⁵ *Amores* II. 4, 39; for Corinna's pink and white complexion, see *ibid.* 5, 37.

distance behind him, in that lovely passage in which the broad Doric vowels seem somehow to give the effect of repose and warm stillness, apart from the meaning¹:

ἵππω ἐπὶ κράνα Ἐλικωνίδι καλὰ ρεοίσα
λώντο· μεσαμβρινὰ δ' εἰχ' ὅρος ἀσυχία,
ἀμφότεραι λώντο, μεσαμβριναι δ' ἔσαν ὄραι,
πολλὰ δ' ἀσυχία τῆνο κατεῖχεν ὅρος.

But Theokritos, and Vergil after him, introduce us to a noontide hotter than anything in my experience of those sun-loved lands,

ἀνίκα δὴ καὶ σάῦρος ἐν αἰμασιάσι καθεύδει.²

nunc uirides etiam occultant spineta lacertos.³

When the lively little green lizard hunts for shade, whether in dyke or in bramble, there is something very unusual in the weather; generally he is to be seen running gaily about and thrusting forward an inquisitive nose at the *forestiere* who is wiping his brow and thinking of equivalents for 'hot' to use in conversation with the intelligent but tip-hunting native.

And with sun goes dust—thirsty dust, sister of mud. I used to be puzzled by a passage in the Fourth Gospel, 'He that is bathed needs not to wash save his feet, but is clean every whit.'⁴ A cross-country stroll near Rome removed all difficulties. If, after going out in the comparatively moderate heat of Italy, wearing good modern ankle-boots and socks, one comes back with feet as black as any negro's, what must the feet of a sandalled Palestinian have looked like, if he so much as walked down the street from the bath-house to his own quarters? In Britain we do not know what dust is. A certain amount of grey, gritty road-surface is drifted over things in general by the passing motorist, no doubt; a little flaky stuff collects in the corners of an unswept room; the smoker's ash-tray contains some fairly fine powder from his cigarettes or cigars; but this is not dust, but lumps of earth or cinders, compared to the microscopic particles which fill the air on a summer's day where the sun is really warm. It is dust, dust everywhere, in dry weather. Antigone did not throw earth over her brother's corpse, but dust—a girl with no tools could get enough of it in a couple of minutes to serve her pious ends⁵—and the dead sailor in Horace asked only that the traveller should go on his way *innecto ter puluere*.⁶ And being light and finely divided, it rises with every puff of wind and every footfall of man or beast. *Iam puluere caelum stare uident*, says Vergil, who knew, as usual, what he was talking about.⁷ Our dust-clouds may obscure the sky for a moment; the plain where the forces of Aeneas and Turnus met would have a pall of fine dust hanging over it all day long, as the Campagna has with no embattled armies but only the ordinary traffic to stir its surface. Henry, who, like the eccentric he was, often consulted both nature and the written word to find out what his author meant, instead of evolving out of his inner consciousness what he ought to mean, is right, as usual, in his comments: 'Stare expressing the firm persisting fixed character of the sky . . . and *puluere*, the substance of which it consists—viz., not of blue air or clouds, but of dust. We might say in English, "they see a sky of dust."'⁸ So may anyone through the prosaic windows of the tram which runs from Rome to the Alban Hills. And if so much as a country cart passes (or, better still, a troop of well-mounted, hard-riding Italian cavalry) he may imagine what the chorus in the *Septem* saw:

¹ *Hymn.* V. 71-4.

² *Idyll.* VII. 22.

τὸν | νέκυν. Cf. 249 οὗτε του γεγήδος ήν | πλῆγμ',
οὐ δικέλλης ἐκβολή.

³ *Ecl.* II. 13.

⁶ *Carm.* I. 28, 36.

⁴ John 13, 10.

⁷ *Aen.* XII. 407.

⁵ Soph. *Ant.* 256, λεπτὴ δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὡς
ἐπῆν κόνις, 409, πᾶσαν κόνιν σηραντες ἡ κατεῖχε

⁸ *Aeneidea* IV., p. 294.

ρεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεῶς πρόδρομος ἵππότας,
αἰθερίᾳ κόνις με πείθει φανεῖστ,
ἀναυδος σαφής ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.¹

Of course every man in the ranks would be black with dust, *non indecoro puluere sordidus*,² before he had gone a mile. In particular, since the ancients wore no trousers, his legs would be much in need of a wash; it was only a dirty boor like Catullus' Otho³ who would appear in any decent society with *semilauta crura*, whether he came from campaigning or from ordinary field-work or travel.

With heat and dust come thirst. It needs a vast deal of liquid of some sort to keep one comfortable in summer: hence no doubt, among such temperate people, the habit of diluting their wine:

αι Νύμφαι τὸν Βάκχον ὅτ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἥλαθ' ὁ κοῦρος,
νύψαν ὑπὲρ τέφρης ἄρτι κυλιόμενον.
τοῦνεκα σὺν Νύμφαις Βάκχος φίλος, ἣν δέ νυν εἴργγις
μίσγεσθαι, δέξῃ πῦρ ἔτι καιομενον.—Meleagros, A.P., IX. 331.

The flame-born Babe, as on the ash he rolled,
The cooling waters of the Nymphs consoled:
Still Bakchos with his Nymphs is mild and kind
Whom, if divorced from them, a flame we find.

It is not very easy, here and now, to realise how horribly thirsty Nikias' ruined army was at the end of its last march.⁴ ‘And the Athenians made haste towards the river Assinaros, partly forced on by the attacks from all quarters of a multitude of assailants, including a strong force of cavalry, from which they hoped for some relief once they got across the stream, and partly from weariness and desire to drink. And when they came close to it, in they rushed, with no semblance of order left, but each wishing to be the first to cross, while the enemy closed in and made the crossing a nightmare; for they must needs move forward in a mass, and so fell over each other and trampled each other down, some perishing at once under the javelin-fire and in the tangle of baggage, while others, hopelessly clumped, still swept down. Occupying the further bank of the river, which was steep, the Syracusans kept up a plunging fire on the Athenians, who for the most part were drinking eagerly and throwing each other into hopeless confusion in the hollow of the river-bed. Now the Peloponnesians charged down and slaughtered especially those in the river. In a moment the water was defiled, yet none the less it still was drunk, all muddy and blood-stained, and many of them fought for it.’ Statius did not forget this passage,⁵ although with his usual want of taste he applies it to an army which had not as yet struck a blow or met with any losses.

Incubuere uadis passim discriminine nullo
turba simul primique, nequit secernere mixtos
aequa sitis, frenata suis in curribus intrant
armenta, et pleni dominis armisque feruntur
quadripedes; hos turbo rapax, hos lubrica fallunt
saxa, nec implicitos fluuo reuerentia reges
proterere aut mersisse uado clamantis amici
ora. fremunt undae, longusque a fontibus amnis
diripitur, modo lene uirens et gurgite puro
perspicuus nunc sordet aquis egestus ab imis
alueus; inde tori riparum et proruta turbant
gramina; iam crassus caenoque et puluere sordens,
quamquam expleta sitis, bibitur tamen.

¹ Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 80. And so : : : details in precisely the right order.
Suppl. 180, δρῶ κόνιν, ἀναυδος ἄγγελον στρατοῦ, | ² Hor. *Carm.* II. 1, 22. ³ Catullus, LIV. 2.
συρίγγες οὐ στγῶσιν ἀξονιλατοι· | ὅχλον δ' ὑπα- ⁴ Thucydides, VII. 84, 2 ff.
σπιστῆρα καὶ δορυσσόν | λεύσσω, which has the ⁵ *Thebais*, IV. 808 ff.

' Leaders and led, they hurled them on the flood,
 All order lost, for no distinction makes
 Impartial Thirst. With bitted mouths the steeds
 Trampling, drew arms, chariot and charioteer
 Headlong : in whirlpools some, on slippery stones
 Fell others ; here, a prince lay underfoot
 Trapped by the stream, there friend unheeding trod
 Upon his drowning friend that cried for aid
 In vain. The current roared, and to its source
 The stream was ravished : gone its quiet flow
 Pellucid 'mid the grasses, for the bed
 Muddied the waters, and the turf-y banks
 Were torn and trampled ; foul the river now
 And dust-stained, yet, although with sated thirst,
 Ever they drank.'

More prosaic, but at least not spoilt by trying to be fine, is the simple and straightforward description by Frontinus¹ of one of the seven channels which supplied the gigantic thirst of Augustan Rome, the Virgo. ' Its length is 14,105 paces, whereof 12,865 are a subterranean channel, 1,240 above ground ; of the latter, artificial embankments at sundry points account for 540 paces, and an arched aqueduct for 700. Tributary subterranean channels make up another 1,405 paces.' The total therefore is 15,510, and this was but one aqueduct of the seven, to which Claudia and Anio Nouus were added later. The Acqua Vergine is to-day familiar to everyone who visits Rome, and it is not for nothing that every stand-pipe of it and the Marcia is adapted for drinking from. There is usually a small crowd of drinkers of all ranks and nationalities, in summer, at each of them : *nequit discernere mixtos aequa sitiis.* Incidentally, an attempt to realise what a vast deal of water an Italian city can do with (Rome has still the best supply of any city in the world) will help us to understand why every source of fresh water was holy in antiquity, their sanctity lasting after their practical utility was lessened by the modern methods just described : *fontium memoria cum sanctitate adhuc exstat et colitur : salubritatem aegris corporibus afferre creduntur, sicut Camenarum et Apollinis et Iuturnae,* says Frontinus, speaking of the long superseded local supplies of Rome.

Aqueducts are not usually considered poetical; it was left for the genius of Kipling to discover that machinery and engineering are highly poetic subjects, and even he has touched upon them only briefly : and, in any case, most of the best classical work was done before aqueducts became common, or in parts of the world where they were not yet familiar. Hence the means of avoiding the triple plague of heat, thirst, and dust, which we find best described in the best writers, are the natural means, not that the others are left out of account by everyone. The nymphaeum in Manilius Vopiscus' villa, if we may believe Statius, was so lovely that all the local water-deities and some from abroad visited it²—

illic ipse antris Anien et fonte relicto
 nocte sub arcana glaucos exutus amictus
 huc illuc fragili prosternit pectora musco,
 aut ingens in stagna cadit uitreasque natatu
 plaudit aquas. illic recubat Tiberinus in umbra,
 illic sulphureos cupid Albula mergere crines ;
 haec domus Egeriae nemoralem abiungere Phoeben
 et Dryadum uiduare choris algentia possit
 Taygeta et siluis accersere Pana Lycaeis.

¹ Frontinus, *de aquis*, I. 10.

² *Siluae*, I. 3, 70.

'Beneath the curtain of night Anio's self, deserting his source and his cavernous bed, throws off his green raiment and there lieth, pressing his bosom this way and that on the tender mosses, or falling with all his mighty weight into the pool and making the glassy waters resound as he swims. Tiberinus lies in the shadow there, and Albula is fain there to bathe her sulphur-whitened locks; this mansion could woo Diana from her Egeria's forest, rob Taygetus of the Dryads that dance on his cold height, and bring Pan from the groves of Lycaeus.'

Much later than that Apollinaris Sidonius waxed semi-poetical over his own *tuguria seu mapalia* in Gaul, which, as he could command no foreign marbles to decorate them, provided nothing better than *ciuicum frigus*, 'home-spun coolness.' Still, for a struggling country clergyman in hard times he did pretty well. 'Into this basin a stream, lured from the crest of a mountain and led around in curving pipes along the outer borders of the swimming-place, is cast out from six projecting taps that mimic the heads of lions. He who enters unawares will deem that these are veritable rows of grinning teeth, unfeigned glare of eyes, true manes that bristle.'¹ As this was but one of the several chambers of his bath-house, it must have been a tempting invitation that he sent to his friend Domitius to come there and leave the sweating town, where, 'amid yawns, he must set about expounding to a class pale as much from heat as nervousness, *Samia mihi mater fuit.*'²

But these are hot-house plants; let us get a breath of real country air from men who lived chiefly out-of-doors, or at least knew what it was like to be in the open. On the way we might do worse than look in at St. Cyprian's arbour:³ 'And lest some uninitiated eavesdropper break in upon our talk, or the unrestrained bawling of noisy slaves deafen us, let us make for this seat; all about us is retired and ensures privacy, for here the straying, drooping grape-clusters creeping over their cane-work pergola make us a porch of vines, a very house of leaves. Here we may fittingly give ear to our deepest thoughts, and as we look out upon the vines and trees, delighting our eyes with that enchanting prospect, our mind wins edification through hearing, and through vision delight.' Truly a pleasant place for a hot day in the early autumn months of Northern Africa.

With a passing salutation to Plato's plane-tree, of which Cicero says that it was nourished, not so much by the streamlet at its feet, as by Plato's own eloquence, *non tam ipsa acula quae describitur quam Platonis oratione creuisse*,⁴ and Cicero's own retired places, which grace so many of his dialogues with their beauties, let us remember how commonly the shelter from summer heat was and is provided, not by a tree, but by a rock—'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land,' as the Hebrew poet puts it. There is one rock-shelter in particular which deserves immortality if ever one did. It bears the name of Theokritos, but is none of his. The passage is interesting, not only for its beauty, but as illustrating how learned, and at the same time how void of all poetical sense, it is possible to be. Here it is, as the MSS. give it, letter for letter, following, in the one place where they differ, the reading which will scan:

μή μοι γάν Πέλοπος, μή μοι χρύσεια τάλαντα
εἴη ἔχειν, μηδὲ πρόσθε θέειν ἀνέμων.
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ πέτρᾳ τῷδ' ἄσομαι, ἀγκὰς ἔχων τύ,
σύννομα μᾶλ' ἐσορῶν τὰν Σικελὰν ἐς ἄλα.⁵

In the first line a neat but unnecessary emendation has been proposed, *Kροίσεια* for *χρύσεια*: itacism, followed by correction of K into χ to get a recognisable word, is of course nothing unheard of. But in the last line Graefe

¹ Apollinaris Sidonius II. 2, 8.

^{c.f.} *de legg.* II. 6.

² *Ibid.* 2.

⁵ [Theokr.] VIII. 53-56: the only variant is the miswriting Σικελικὰν for Σικελὰν; the scholiast

³ Cypr. *ad Donat.* 1.

read ησομαι for ἄσομαι.

⁴ Plat. *Phaedr.* 229A ff.; Cic. *de orat.* I. 28;

and Meineke have combined to work havoc, and Wilamowitz approves of them both. As it stands it is a most prettily made verse, with the double construction of *έστρωψ* with and without the preposition, for the object directly looked at (the flocks pasturing together) and the background against which they are seen (the sea). The emendators would read *σύννομε καλ'*, ruining the pretty figure and introducing an unnamed fellow-shepherd as the object of the singer's affections, when a few lines further back, in the arrangement which Wilamowitz himself adopts, his love was a girl.

But leaving on one side these lapses of the unco' learned, let us ask a question as prosaic as their emendations: What did the shepherd (or anyone else in like circumstances) sit on? A rug of some sort, if he had it, no doubt, as in Theokritos V. 50 and 56; but otherwise, what? The grass? Hardly, in the height of summer. In a cool, damp climate the grass is always fit to sit on unless it is very wet. In Mediterranean summer heat it is not, for the simple reason that it is as stiff and hard as spikes, and filled with evil growths of various sorts and kinds, admirably calculated to defend it against anyone wanting to rest. To find grass fit to sit or lie upon it is necessary to find a place well-watered and shady. So Hesiod for his pleasure in summer-time, when 'the skin is dry for very heat,' would have 'the shadow of a rock' to sit under, and also a western exposure to get the coolest wind, and a clear, unmuddied spring handy.¹ Such a place might well give him soft grass comfortable to sprawl upon. So also it is in Vergil:

muscosi fontes et somno mollior herba.²

He does not mention the shade, but takes it for granted; where else would the moss about the springs not be dried up, or the grass remain soft? So again,

tale tuum carmen nobis, diuine poeta,
quale sopor fessis in gramine.³

Why simply *gramine*, not for instance *umbroso in gramine*? Because one might almost as well say *gramineo in gramine*. Grass, soft enough to let one sleep comfortably, is not found in the sun during an Italian summer. Hence no doubt, at least in part, the intense love of the comparatively cool spring-time:

et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,
nunc frondent siluae, nunc formonsissimus annus.⁴

At that season Palaemon might well say

quandoquidem in molli consedimus herba.

'To take the spring out of the year' was, to a Greek, an expressive way of saying 'to spoil a thing completely'; and no one who has read it is likely to forget the magnificent pageant of spring with which Lucretius begins his poem:

nam simul ac species patefactast uerna diei
et reserata uiget genitabilis aura Fauoni,
aeriae primum uolucres te, diua, tuumque
significant initum percussae corda tua ui.

But, spring or summer, the sun was and is beloved, especially among the poorer folk, perhaps, for does he not save them the expense of fuel and give them a pleasantly warm place wherein to work or to idle?

cum tibi sol tepidis pluris admouerit auris.⁵

Still, there are limits to the amount of sun the hardiest Italian can stand, especially in the streets of a town. Nero and his architects were not thanked by

¹ *Oph. et dies*, 588.

² *Ecl. VII.* 45.

³ *Ibid.* V. 45.

⁴ Verg. *Ecl.* III. 56.

⁵ Hor. *Epp.* I. 20, 19.

all for the new, broad-streeted Rome which they put up after the fire;¹ ‘for some held that the old plan was more conducive to health, since the narrow streets and high buildings offered more hindrance to the sun’s heat, whereas now, with everything wide and open, and no shade to protect it, the temperature was intolerably high.’ A walk down the Via Cavour in Rome on a sunny day, about the end of July, will convince the most enthusiastic believer in the hygienic value of sunlight that there was something in that view. Fond though the ancients were, on occasion, of sunning themselves (*apricatio*), there were limits, and it is to be noticed that the two most horrible forms of death, crucifixion and *ἀποτυμπανισμός*, both involve exposure to sunlight. But I am not here to speak of horrors, so merely remark in passing that both these pieces of cruelty are in original intention mere shirkings of the business (magically full of danger) of killing anyone, with consequent resort to the expedient of making him die of himself. They are savage in the true sense of the word.

It would be ungrateful, especially in one who has walked the streets of Ostia alone, till the dark interior of a building seemed to warn him that he was intruding upon private property, and coming into a Mithraeum he could hardly believe that the great sad eyes of the god were not watching from the alcove whence he and his bull were long ago removed to deck the galleries of the Vatican—it would be most unjust to pass by without mention and a word of praise one of the pleasantest features of the Southern summer, the cool refreshing winds. As in the plain of Elysion, so to this day over the Ostian flats the clear blasts of the West wind bring cooling to mankind :

αἰεὶ Ζεφύροι λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας
·Ωκεανὸς ἀνίστιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.²

So we may perhaps appropriately conclude with the Orphic hymn³ to this good breeze :

Gales of the western waters, voyagers of the air,
Perfumed, whispering breezes that bring our pain surcease,
Breath of the spring-time meadows, joy of the mariner,
Leading the ships that journey an easy road in peace,
Come with favour and blessing, come upon welcome wings,
Airy sprites of refreshing, light-pinioned, invisible things.

H. J. ROSE.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CLASSICS.

A paper read before the Classical Association of Southampton.

NOT the least of the pleasures of the ancient classics is their universality of appeal. They touch life at so many points, and where they touch they illuminate. Hardly a problem that besets the world to-day but was, in some degree, dealt with by the great writers of Greece and Rome. And if in a measure our outlook is broader, we owe this largely to the example, the patience, and the initiative of those earlier ages. We view the world with an ampler survey, because we stand on the shoulders of antiquity. Whether if our outlook is wider our thoughts go really deeper may sometimes be questioned. I am not quite sure whether our knowledge of human nature is truer than that of the great days of an elder epoch. In certain directions we have advanced, unquestionably; we have learned,

¹ Tac. *Ann.* XV. 43, 5.

² δ 567.

³ *Hymn. Orph.* 88, Ζεφύρου.

ἀνδαι πορτογενεῖς Ζεφυρίτιδες, ἡρόφοιτοι,
ἡδύπνοοι, ψιθυραί, καμάτου ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχονται,

ειαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πεκοθημέναι δρυμοί,
σύρουσαι γηνοὶ τριφέρον πέδον, ἡρά κοῦφον·
Ἐλθοτ' εύμενέονται, ἐπιπνεονται ἀμεμφεῖς,
ἡρέαι, ἀφανεῖς, κοιφόπτεροι, ἡρόβορφοι.

partially at any rate, the virtue of Bacon's great maxim : 'Amass your facts.' But in the province of speculation, as of art, our advance has not always been commensurate with our pride. We have much to learn from the ancient world ; and, as we go more fully into the life of the past, we are often surprised by the things we find alike to interest, to instruct—and, at times, to sadden. Possibly the progress of mankind has never been in a straight line : we move in spirals.

If, in one aspect, a study of the literature of antiquity (and for the time being, I confine myself to the literature of Greece and Rome, fully cognisant as I am of the fact that the literatures of the Far East are of great and singular significance, if only for the enormous influence they have exercised on the movements of religious thought in the West)—if, I say, a study of the literatures of Greece and Rome serves to stimulate enquiry and to quicken interest in the same problems that arrested the attention of great thinkers of old ; in another aspect, too, the study is important for the intellectual discipline which it compels. Loose thoughts may do pretty well for loose thinkers, and hundreds of books are issued from the press to give them the sort of mental pabulum they like ; but a study of some masterpiece of antiquity, if taken seriously, compels attention. It twists, and, in a sort of way, torments the mind, which is not allowed—if the argument is to be followed—to be deflected into side issues. If for nothing else than because the classics are compulsive of clear thinking, the classics would be valuable. Dr. Martineau, in a memorable passage,¹ has described the effect upon his mind of a study of Greek thinkers. The effect, he says, was a new intellectual birth ; after a temporary struggle out of the English into the Greek mould of conception, he seemed to pierce, through what had been words before, into contact with living thought, and the black grammatical text was aglow with luminous philosophy. The experience thus forced upon him by a new way of entrance upon ancient literature could not fail to spread and carry an interpreting light into modern studies. It was essentially the gift of fresh conceptions, the unsealing of hidden openings of self-consciousness, with unmeasured corridors and halls behind ; and, once gained, was more or less available throughout the history of philosophy.

What was true of Martineau in his study of Plato and Aristotle is also, if in a diminished way, true of all those who take the masterpieces of the past seriously, whether in the realm of poetry or history or philosophy. The patient conning of the text, the effort to secure some continuity of understanding, the exact force of word or phrase, the growing appreciation of the force of some delicate or elusive idiom—these things are important disciplines of the mind ; and the student emerges from his effort braced in intellect and purified and quickened in sensibility.

Much, very much, of the literature of the past has been taken up and incorporated into the texture of modern life ; and, in so far as this is the case, it ceases to be a necessity in the progress of the intellectual life. The spirit of the classic ages has enriched the blood of the world. It follows on this that a very large portion of classical literature has long ceased to have anything but an archaeological interest, touched perhaps with a pardonable sentiment. Whole vast areas of that literature, if read at all, may just as well be read in good translations as in the original Greek or Latin. It is the business of active and competent scholars to make current coin of the thoughts enshrined in such writers. Indeed no greater benefit can be conferred to-day on serious readers and students than to offer them, in their native tongue, adequate renderings of hitherto all but forgotten and (oftentimes) altogether neglected books. To the specialist in language, of course, the originals must be familiar ; but few of us are language specialists. We are people of average intelligence, and perhaps more than average curiosity, who desire to know and to look into these things ; to put ourselves at the standpoint of antiquity, and with its eyes contemplate the many-coloured movement of events ; to understand causes and sequences in the realm

¹ *Types of Ethical Theory.*

of history, to become (as far as may be) familiar with thoughts that once breathed and burned in the minds and hearts of wise men and scribes.

No greater service has been rendered the students whom I have in mind than the publications of the Loeb series. If that series were ever completed—alas! more than doubtful—we should have ranged on our shelves a permanent possession, a genuine *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί*, for the enlargement and illumination of human thought.

One of the things that strike me so much in considering our classical curriculum, as set out in school and college, is its comparatively restricted range. Certain books are always read, and deserve to be read; but it is rather surprising to find many books almost totally neglected. It was not always so. In the golden age of classical studies, during the spacious days of the Renaissance when the masterpieces of antiquity were once again brought out, and edition after edition was being issued from the press, there was a catholicity of interest which is absent to-day. There is now a confirmed indifference to the adequate understanding of, literally, hundreds of authors whose works would, if adequately presented, be well worth careful attention. This is perhaps particularly noticeable in the hitherto little worked field of Patristic. Something, it is true, has been done of recent years to correct a mischievous tendency; but an immense amount remains to be done. Everyone who is in the least familiar with the great commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will have noticed that they are at home in the whole range of ancient letters, and do not, as most scholars and students have done for the last 150 years, fence off one half of ancient learning with the notice: *Christianum est; non legitur*. Compare—to name Englishmen only—Gataker and Bentley. Some of the best critics of later times, notably Frederick Field of Norwich or Dr. Routh, are unknown to most classical teachers, simply because they deal in Patristic Greek. ‘If Porson always had Wetstein’s Greek Testament on the table, be sure he had good reason for his choice.’ However, a beginning has been made even in England during the last forty years. Bishop Lightfoot’s editions of the Epistle of Clement and the seven genuine letters of Ignatius are worthy of a place beside the best work done in the more restricted field of letters; and since his time we have had a worthy edition of the once celebrated *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, by that veteran scholar Archdeacon Gifford; an edition of the seventh book of Clement’s *Stromateis* by Hort and Mayor; a full and learned commentary by Mayor on the *Apology* of Tertullian; and a notable piece of pioneer work on Pelagius by Professor Souter. But this is but a beginning. We need a really adequate text and commentary for the Letters of Jerome, which for interest and the light they throw on contemporary life in the fourth century can hardly be surpassed. A big step forward will have been made when my friend Professor Baxter publishes his looked-for lexicon of later Latin, from Suetonius to Boëthius, and when the dictionary of Patristic Greek—so long in preparation—sees the light. The publication of those two indispensable aids to study will enable students to extend their operations in a fashion hitherto unattempted; and we may look forward to the day when we shall possess an edition of Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History* worthy to be put alongside the classic work of Lightfoot.

There are signs, too, of a healthy movement in the purely classical field of Latin and Greek literature. Already Sir James Frazer has enriched our knowledge with his magnificent edition of Pausanias; an edition of the valuable treatise on pagan theology by Sallustius is at last available; and we have witnessed the publication of a really great work in three volumes (one more is to come), dealing with the strange, often repulsive, yet important Hermetic writings. Walter Scott had spent the best years of his life on this work, but he lived barely long enough to see Vol. I. issue from the press. In the immensity of its erudition it compares favourably with the best editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though it must be confessed that the learned editor has allowed his passion for textual emendation to carry him too far.

Curiously enough, one of the most interesting and, in some ways, difficult books of antiquity, Pliny's *Natural History*, remains a *terra incognita* to nearly all of us for lack of adequate subsidia; Athenaeus has been left severely alone since Schweighäuser published his edition over one hundred years ago; the *Moralia* of Plutarch loudly calls for a skilful and competent redactor. Meanwhile, publishers appear to vie with one another in issuing fresh editions of Horace and Caesar—mostly in portions—or of selected plays from the Greek dramatists, or an occasional speech of Cicero and Demosthenes. Yet much of Cicero and Demosthenes is still unedited; a worthy edition of Terence is still to seek; and a commentary on Suetonius is yet to be written. We cannot get even good translations of some of these things, though the Loeb series is doing a good deal to remedy this defect. But a translation, though valuable (if done accurately), is not enough; comment and index are alike required.

I am aware that to undertake an edition of any large work of antiquity is a sufficiently formidable undertaking—perhaps too large for any one man. Take, for example, Ammianus Marcellinus, who, despite his style, is of the utmost importance to us, if we are to understand aright the history of a striking and exciting epoch. But such an edition might be accomplished by the co-operative method. One scholar might make himself responsible for ransacking the ancient and later commentaries on his author, sifting out the wheat from the chaff; another would search the periodical and occasional literature, like the *Classical Review* in our own country, and *Hermes* or *Mnemosyne* on the continent, duly registering all *variae lectiones* and *adversaria*; another would deal with the text; while yet another would compile a really full and comprehensive index. This index alone would be a permanent contribution to classical learning. Result: a sort of variorum edition, but far more concise and comprehensive than the old Dutch variorums. A translation should always face the (revised) text; it saves many notes, for one thing, and it prevents slurring of difficulties. The translator must confront his difficulties in a translation; any attempt to dodge them defeats itself.

I mention these things because I believe that a real contribution to scholarship might be the result if the suggestion could be acted upon. No great originality would be needed; only patience, adequate scholarship, and due adjustment of means to ends. Far better some such composite work as this than the production of books about books, of which there are already far too many. One good well-balanced edition of the historian I have named, or of Epictetus, or of Isocrates, would be of vastly more value than a host of select passages and snippetty articles and introductions, which we find in these would-be popular 'short cuts to the classics.'

A word in season on the subject of translations. A good deal of nonsense has been, and doubtless will be, written about this matter by people who choose to decry them. The late Master of Trinity, Dr. Butler, once wrote an admirable little paper in support of translations, and I gladly subscribe to this doctrine. Only—the translation of a classical author must be a good one, and carried out by a competent person. No loose paraphrases are tolerable, but a close rendering of the original into good clear nervous English. Adaptations will not do; I prefer Browning's method, in some ways, to that of Gilbert Murray, whose verse renderings of the tragedians are pretty and popular, but, to my thinking, unsatisfying. Munro in his prose rendering of Lucretius set us a model of what a close-knit translation could and should be. Few verse translations are tolerable; but Rogers's brilliant version of Aristophanes is the exception that tests the rule; it is (I believe) the best verse rendering of an ancient classic that has ever appeared—in English at all events.

Now such a translation as I am pleading for cannot be given adequately unless it is based on a really sound text; and a sound text depends on a thorough study of the manuscripts. This department of classical learning is a science in itself, and it is impossible to deal with it here. Suffice it to say that we do not

desire to see texts burdened with an elaborate *apparatus criticus*—such as the Germans love to affix to the foot of their texts—it is easy enough to swell these apparatuses with masses of useless minutiae, which merely confuse people. As regards the province of textual emendation, a word in passing must be enough. Though, in the past, critics—Dutch and German, mainly—have sometimes been apt to treat ancient documents as if they were school-boys' exercises, and almost to rewrite their authors, there is a tendency just now to fall into the opposite fault and serve up texts that could not possibly have come from the original authors in such a state. A first-rate emendation is, undoubtedly, rare in these days, for all the obvious corrections have long since been made by the great critics of bygone generations—at least in the case of well-worn and familiar authors. But in the case of the less known writers much remains to be done. Let no one hastily or vaingloriously take in hand to 'emend' a passage unless he has a competent acquaintance with MS. tradition, and can fully appreciate the meaning of those two words *ductus literarum*; otherwise he heads for disaster. I am disposed, personally, to believe that some of our texts are deeply corrupted by 'adscripts,' as they have been called—viz., phrases and glosses which, once written in the margin, have crept into our texts to their undoing. We need to remember that the ancients knew nothing about footnotes—that labour-saving device of modern days. Examples of these adscripts are plentiful in the text of Thucydides, for instance. Some were possibly original; others are the work of scholiasts and transcribers; others are more or less botchy efforts to explain what seemed inexplicable. Another source of corruption may be due to the fact that, in not a few instances, books were dictated to scribes. A specimen of their blunders may be found in Horace (III. iv. 9, 10). The texts have:

*Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
Nutricis extra limen Apuliae.*

Here either *Apulo* or *Apuliae* must be wrong; to have both is abhorrent from sense and metre. Read *limina Pulliae* (*Pullia* being the name of the nurse) and all is well. One of the most brilliant conjectures I have yet seen may be found in a very difficult passage in the New Testament (1 Pet. iii. 19): 'By which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison,' on which passage was built the doctrine of Christ's descent into Hades to preach to fallen angels. A quaint doctrine, and (to some at least) incredible. It has arisen out of a scribe's blunder in dropping some repeated letters. The Greek text is *ἐν φ καὶ . . . ἐκῆρυξεν*. It should read, with Rendel Harris,¹ *ἐν φ καὶ Ἐνώχ*. The whole context now becomes luminous.

The bearing of classical studies on philosophy and history, and its immense influence on literary tendencies and movements, have already been briefly mentioned. These studies are not confined either to literature or to philosophy: they have profoundly touched archaeological researches. During the past century inscriptions have been collected, deciphered, and considered in all their bearings on the progress of history; and much welcome light has been shed on difficult problems. Many more await the illuminating touch of the archaeologist's wand. More than that, we have learned in these past decades the meaning of the various artistic developments of far-away ages: the spade of the explorer has revealed, as nothing else could, the way in which Art moulded the cultures of the Mediterranean basin; we have learnt to follow, with growing intelligence, the (at times) incalculable curve of Art in its manifold sweep. The purely philological side of classical study, the purely literary and grammatical study of ancient texts,

¹ See his *Side Lights on New Testament Research* (Section VI.). Some critics would exempt the New Testament text from the hand of the emender; but why, provided the conjecture is good and carefully follows the *ductus literarum*? Two excellent conjectures occur to mind here: one in John xix. 29, where for

ἰσσωτῷ (= *hyssop*) (which makes no sense) read, with Camerarius, *ἰσσὼφ* (= *a spear*); another in Acts xvii. 14, where for *ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* read *ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν*. But hasty conjectures are always to be avoided; as Jebb pertinently says: 'Rash conjecture constantly arises from defective understanding.'

has been amplified and enriched by the stress laid on the art-monuments of antiquity, which half conceal and half reveal the thoughts, aspirations, and hopes of generations long since vanished. And especially in Greek art we are learning more and more to mark how germinal it all was, how full of the promise and potency of things yet to come. If, in one sense, Ancient Greece, in the days of the Renaissance, arose from her sepulchre with a copy of the New Testament in her hand; in another she has risen again, these last fifty years, with her hand clasping the sceptre of Beauty, with which she has, magician like, awakened the world with a new Vision. Even the dry bones of grammar, touched by the genius of enquiry and quickened by the scientific spirit of a bold and speculative search into the origins of language, have become—in some degree at least—alive.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

VIRGIL, *AENEID* X. 354 FF.

Expellere tendunt
nunc hi, nunc illi: certatur limine in ipso
Ausoniae. magno discordes aethere venti
proelia ceu tollunt animis et viribus aequis;
non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit;
anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra:
haud aliter Troianaee acies aciesque Latinae
concurrunt, haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.

MR. WARDE FOWLER divined that Virgil was here thinking about some actual aerial phenomenon,¹ and cited the prelude to a great storm, when the thunderclouds moved slowly and majestically in the teeth of an almost imperceptible wind. But this 'solemn quietude' before the storm broke hardly illustrates the press and din of armies already joined in battle; and the phrase *nec mare cedit* is dismissed as an imaginative touch. I believe that Mr. Warde Fowler's divination is right, but we need some marked appearance both in sea and sky.

This appearance should, I suggest, be a line or zone. The nerve of Virgil's description lies in the spectacle of the interlocked lines (*acies aciesque*), now swaying and now slowing to immobility, but never broken. They form a zone of great pressure (*obnixa omnia contra*), sustained by equal and opposite forces (*viribus aequis*). This is the spectacle that Virgil illustrates by recalling to the mind's eye some zone of cloud and sea where furious winds seem to meet and to make no headway. As Mr. Warde Fowler observes, the struggle of Eurus and Notus in a ravine (*Il. XVI.* 765) is no parallel: these are perhaps cyclonic gusts that break birds' pinions as well as trees in a narrow gorge. Virgil may possibly have taken a hint from the κῦμα κωφόν of *Il. XIV.* 16: but there the wind gives a set to a wavering sea, emblem of a divided mind; here the poet's stress is laid on the line apparently held by two unyielding winds and on the visible signs of their tension whether in sea and sky. Where is there such a persistent line in nature?

At certain seasons a spindle-shaped cloud, known as the helm, forms along the Pennine ridge where it falls steeply to the Eden valley. To the west, above the valley itself, another long cloud (the helm-bar) lies parallel to it, with no cloud between, though they meet at the tips. They may stretch for as much as forty miles, and the distance between them ranges from half a mile to eight miles. When the helm is formed, the east wind breaking from the summit rushes down the steep escarpment like a waterfall. At the foot it becomes a violent gale, 'roaring like the sea.' But it never penetrates beyond the helm-bar—in popular

¹ *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, p. 203.

language it is stopped by the bar, which remains, advancing or receding, but never breaking, while the helm-wind is on. Beyond the bar lies a zone of calm, and then a zone where a moderate west wind blows. The helm wind may last for nine days, and when the bar goes the wind is said to have 'broken through.'

Meteorologists¹ say that the east wind, after passing over the cold saturated moors behind Cross Fell, precipitates moisture along the line of the ridge. The piled-up cold and dense air then drops down the slope to the warmer and rarer air of the valley, gaining speed as it goes. There it rebounds and again precipitates its moisture in the bar. I suggest that such a swaying line of cloud which maintained its continuity at the boundary of a violent gale was recalled by Virgil.

The bora on the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts is the most famous of these katabatic winds. It swoops from the ridge upon the warm sea with such violence that the crests of the waves are whipped off in fine spray (*fumarea*). Here I must resort to conjecture in the hope that some travelled scholar will confirm or correct me. The prevailing winds on the Adriatic are the sirocco and the bora, and often the south-east coast endures the sirocco while the bora visits the north. Now we must distinguish between what Virgil *saw* and what Virgil inferred. He could not see two winds fighting—that does not happen—he might see a well-marked zone which seemed to be a line of conflict. The 'bar,' as we have seen, is such a boundary line in the sky. Supposing the bora set in rapidly after a sirocco—and I am told that this is possible—the sea would be running from the south-west. Might there be under the 'bar,' about the limit of the bora, a zone of broken water testifying to the eye where the seas raised by the sirocco and the bora disputed for mastery? This would fit the lines,

non nubila, non mare cedit;
anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra:

and the assumption that two winds met in equal force would be pardonable in a poet. (Even a sober scientific treatise speaks of the bora 'fighting' with the 'oberen Scirocco.') Will someone say whether he has seen or read about such a troubled zone at the limit of the bora?²

A. S. FERGUSON.

SOPHOCLES, *ELECTRA*, LL. 17-19.

ώς ήμιν ἡδη λαμπρὸν ἥλιον σέλας
ἔῳα κινεῖ φθέγματ' ὄρνιθων σαφῆ,
μέλαινά τ' ἀστρων ἐκλέλοιπεν εὐφρόνη.

JEBB comments: 'The sights and sounds of early morning are in unison with the spirit of this play, in which the πανυγχίδες of Electra's sorrow are turned into joy, and the god of light prevails.' Mr. Sheppard, who takes so different a view of the play, naturally interprets this passage otherwise.

So closely do we associate the songs of birds and the early morning with feelings of joy and cheerfulness that a modern poet who used such language in the opening scene of his play would naturally be interpreted as Jebb interprets Sophocles. Now for Electra, at any rate, the morning was not a time of gladness (ll. 86-92). And the mention of the birds brings us to one of the most curious and striking contrasts between ancient and modern feeling.

For the Greeks and Romans the birds were *not* merry minstrels; they were not, primarily, minstrels at all. The word *ōrnis* has gloomy associations in Greek tragedy; its predominating significance is 'bird of prey' or 'bird of

¹ See J. G. Goodchild, *The Helm Wind and Science*, No. XIV.).
(Trans. of Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature ² I am much indebted to Mr. L. C. W. Bonacina for information about katabatic winds.

omen.' Power of song, speaking generally, is attributed to only four birds—the nightingale, the swallow, the swan, and the halcyon ; and the melody of these four birds is almost everywhere spoken of as sad. The cheerful musicians of our fields and gardens—the thrush, the blackbird, the wren, the finches—are strangely silent in classical literature. ὁξὺ φθέγγεται is all Aristotle has to say of the song-thrush (*H.A.* 9. 20, 617). Stranger still is the ancient attitude towards the lark, whose song seems to many moderns to be the supreme expression of melodious and untroubled rapture. The κορυδαλλός was proverbial for its bad singing (*Alciphron, Epist.* 48, etc.).

It would seem that the Greeks had little ear for the merry note of birds; their mirth-maker was rather the cicala, whose song is described by modern travellers as utterly unmusical (see Rogers' *Birds*, pp. 235-6).

There are three other references to bird-song in the *Electra* (ll. 107, 147, 1077), in each case that of the mourning nightingale. It is not surprising to find such references numerous in Sophocles, who composed a tragedy on the story of Tereus, and who must have had the familiar passage in the *Agamemnon* (ll. 1142-6) fresh in his mind while writing the present play. We have the mourning nightingale again in the *Ajax* (l. 629) and the *Trachiniae* (963); and in l. 105 of the *Trachiniae* Deianira is compared to a mourning bird.

In contrast to these passages, *O.C.*, ll. 18 and 671-2, may be quoted. But in l. 18 the presence of the nightingales, the birds who love the covert, seems only to be intended as a further proof of the safety and inviolability of the spot where the weary Oedipus is to rest; for εὐστομοῦται hardly means more than 'utter their clear note,' and reminds us of Milton's 'mourneth well'; and in the famous description of the nightingale of Colonus the verb used is μινύρεται, 'warbles sadly.'

The evidence seems strongly to suggest that the unqualified mention of φθέγματ' ὄρνιθων would certainly not bring to the mind of the Greek listener any suggestion of innocent gladness.

If we are to look for a secondary meaning in these words, we shall rather find it in a suggestion of gloom and foreboding. But there is no need to go beyond the plain meaning of the text: 'The sun is rising; the loud songs of the birds will soon waken the sleeping palace; let us get about our work before our presence is discovered.'

W. BEARE.

ACT first, this Earth, a stage so gloom'd with woe

You all but sicken at the shifting scenes.

And yet be patient. Our Playwright may show

In some fifth Act what this wild Drama means.

TENNYSON.

Γῆ σκηνή, τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα βίος· δειλοὶ δὲ θεαταὶ

λάβρον ἐπεισοδίων πλῆθος ἀπεπτύσαμεν.

τλῆτε δ' ὅμως τὸ κακόν· σοφός ἐσθ' ὁ διδάσκαλος· ἔμπας

λύσει τάσδε πλοκὰς οὐπιλέγων Θάνατος.

E. H.

The Classical Review

SEPTEMBER, 1927

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Classical Association of Victoria has been exerting itself to get Greek taught in the State secondary schools. At the last meeting of the Victorian Council of Education, on the motion of Dr. Leeper, President of the Classical Association, a resolution was carried requesting the Director of Education to gazette the names of high schools in which boys and girls whose parents desired it might obtain instruction in Greek before entering the University. This concession has now been made by the Department, with the proviso, however, that at least five pupils in any school must apply for such teaching before a class can be formed. The philhellenes fear that the number five is too high for the concession to be valuable, and it is understood that the Association will agitate for the reduction of the number to three.

Members of the Classical Association will be interested to hear that a Classical Association has just been founded in South Africa. Its first President is the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyer, and its Secretaries

are Miss Williams of Johannesburg and Dr. Rollo of Capetown. Among the resolutions carried unanimously at the opening meeting was one 'to seek immediate affiliation with the Classical Association of England.' This means, we hope, that in due course we shall find news of the activities of our South African friends in the Appendix to the *Proceedings of the Classical Association*. We offer the new Association our hearty good wishes.

JAMES LOEB

SEXAGENARIO.

Post quinquaginta complere decem dedit annos
Cultori fautrix diva Minerva suo :
Aetatem vegetam producat prospera promens
Illi, qui rebus favit adestque suis.

THE *Classical Review* has been asked on behalf of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* to publish the above verses in the hope, which we share, that 'gaudio fortasse erit viro venerabili in celeberrimis illis chartis recognoscere, quae nos ei scripsimus modeste et verecunde.' We, too, rejoice that Mr. Loeb lives and thrives, and that his services to scholarship have found a German poet.

PRASIAI OR

IN *Athens, its History and Coinage* Mr. Seltman, arguing that Prasai was the ancient harbour of Athens, adds (p. 12): 'It seems clear that the Sacred Embassy or *Theoria* which went annually from Athens to Delos by the ship which, according to belief, was the very one in which Theseus had returned triumphant from Knossos, set sail from Prasai.' This conclusion rests mainly upon a passage of Pausanias (I. 31. 2) which states that there is a monument at Prasai to Erysichthon 'who died on the voyage home from Delos, after the sacred mission thither.' But in his commentary Sir James Frazer expressly dismisses the inference as 'not proved.'

It is, as Mr. Seltman says, accepted by Roscher, and by Pfuhl (*De Athenien-*

PHALERON ?

sium Pompis Sacris), and also by Preller,¹ but the evidence they adduce for a joint *Theoria* of the Athenians and the Marathonian Tetrapolis, sailing from Prasai, does not seem to point to more than a legendary connexion between Prasai and Delos, and a *Theoria* sent by the Tetrapolis.² Indeed, there seems no very evident ground for connecting the sacrifices at Marathon described in the scholium on Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1047 (in an express quotation from Φιλέχορος ἐν τῇ Τετραπόλει γράφων) with anything but a *Theoria* from the Tetrapolis to Delos, and it is surely an assumption that the *Theoria* from Athens was identical with this.

¹ *Griech. Myth.* II. 138¹.

² Cp. J. Toepffer, *Die Attischen Pythiasten und Deliasten* in *Hermes* xxiii.

Greek tradition apparently associated Phaleron with Theseus' voyage—e.g., Pausanias I. 1. 2 Φαληρὸν δέ ταῦτη γὰρ ἐλάχιστον ἀπέχει τῆς πόλεως ἡ θάλασσα—, τοῦτο σφιστιν [i.e., τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις] ἐπίνειον ἦν, καὶ Μενεσθέα φυσίν αὐτόθεν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι καὶ τούτου πρότερον Θησέα δώσοντα Μίνω δίκας τῆς Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτῆς. Plutarch (*Theseus*, c. 23) says he landed there on his return. His helmsman and look-out man had shrines or chapels at Phaleron,¹ which implies that Theseus' ship was not associated with Prasai, and, as already remarked, the Theoric ship was believed to be that famous vessel, constantly renewed yet always the same—a standing puzzle to philosophers.² There was also at Phaleron a shrine of the Delian Apollo.³

But our main knowledge of the Athenian Theoria in the fifth century is derived from the accounts of Socrates' imprisonment and death. None of these give any hint that Prasai was the port. Xenophon (*Mem.* IV. 8. 2)

¹ Plutarch, *Theseus*, c. 17. Roscher, *Lex.* V. 693 s.v. Theseus. In this article Phaleron is taken as Theseus' landing-place, though I. 1388 s.v. Erysichthon gives the Prasai view.

² Plutarch, *Theseus*, c. 23, and Plato, *Phaedo* 58a-b.

³ *C.I.A.* I. 210.

merely says that the execution was delayed ἔως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δῆλου ἐπανέλθῃ. In the *Crito* (43c-d) the whole phraseology implies that the ship is coming to a usual port—e.g., οὗτοι δὴ ἀφίκται, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν μὲν μοι ἔξει τήμερον ἐξ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἡκουτές τινες ἀπὸ Σονιού καὶ καταλιπόντες ἐκεῖ αὐτό.⁴ In the *Phaedo* (58a-c) Phaedo gives an elaborate account of the origin and conduct of the Theoria to the Peloponnesian Echecrates, who seems to have no previous knowledge of it—τοῦτο δὲ δὴ τί ἔστι; There is no mention of Prasai, but a strong suggestion of a port close to Athens—πρὶν ἀν εἰς Δῆλόν τε ἀφίκηται τὸ πλοῖον καὶ πάλιν δεῦρο (58b)—not of course to the scene of the dialogue but to Athens, the place in the speaker's thoughts. So when the friends leave Socrates' prison the evening before his death they hear ὅτι τὸ πλοῖον ἐκ Δῆλου ἀφηγμένον εἴη.

G. M. HIRST.
M. E. HIRST.

⁴ The passage is thus taken by Professor Burnet, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito*, p. 174: 'It will probably make the Piraeus by the next day.' (? Phaleron.) A land journey from Sunium would save little time if the port were Prasai.

THE DURATION OF A TRIERARCHY.

IT was asserted by Boeckh,¹ on the authority of [Demosthenes] *Adv. Polyclem* (50) 11 and Isocrates *Adv. Callimachum* (18) 59, that the return of a trireme to Piraeus at any time, or the failure of the general to provide pay for its crew, automatically brought its commander's trierarchy to an end. Boeckh regarded this as a definite law. The assertion has been copied in books of reference (e.g., Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* and Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. *Trierarchia* in each case), and it still holds the field. H. Fränkel, for instance, repeats it with confidence in his discussion of a naval inscription in *Ath. Mitt.* XLVIII., 1923, p. 17, though he finds it difficult to reconcile with the inscrip-

tion. Kolbe,² indeed, in a dissertation which I have not seen, is said to have questioned the existence of an actual law; but I gather that he accepted Boeckh's general interpretation.

The improbability of a law or custom so unfavourable to the state needs no demonstration, and it is difficult to understand how anyone who had read the Polycles speech could believe in its existence. It is there plainly stated (c. 67) that, even after the expiration of his full year's service, any trierarch whose successor had not yet arrived would be regarded as guilty of an offence

¹ *De Ath. re navali quaest. sel.* Brillant (in Daremberg and Saglio), to whom I owe the reference, says: 'Kolbe ne croit pas qu'il s'agisse d'une loi véritable; en tout cas le texte est formel.'

² *Staatsverhaltung*³, I., p. 630.

if he refused to obey the general's orders to serve overtime for an indefinite period. The speaker, in fact, served for five months and six days beyond his year (c. 1). In truth, Boeckh's view rests upon a simple mistranslation of one phrase in that speech: the passage of Isocrates, which he merely added by way of confirmation, deals, as I shall show, with extraordinary circumstances, and justifies no such generalisation.

The Demosthenic passage (50, 11) runs as follows: *τριήρους γὰρ ὄμολογεῖται κατάλυσις εἶναι, πρώτον μὲν ἐὰν μὴ μισθὸν τις διδῷ, δεύτερον δὲ ἐὰν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ μεταξὺ καταπλεύσῃ ἀπόλειψίς τε γὰρ πλείστη γίγνεται, οἵ τε παραμένοντες τῶν ναυτῶν οὐκ ἔθέλουσι πάλιν ἐμβαίνειν, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς ἔτερον ἀργύριον δδῷ, ὅστε τὰ οἰκεῖα διοικήσασθαι. ἂ ἐμοὶ ἀμφότερα συνέβη, ὡ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅστε πολυτελεστέραν μοι γενέσθαι τὴν τριηραρχίαν.*

It is obvious that, had the supposed rule existed, most trierarchs would have jumped at the chance of returning to Piraeus; but Apollodorus, the speaker, is at pains to show that such an incident greatly increased the trierarch's expenses. Boeckh rendered *τριήρους κατάλυσις* 'Auflösung der Trierarchie,' but this translation is indefensible. It cannot be supposed that he confused *τριήρης* and *τριηραρχία*, and it is unlikely that he thought that *κατάλυσις* could be used of the normal termination of an official duty. This is a sense which *καταλύω* and *κατάλυσις* never seem to bear; there is no instance in Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Aeschines, or in the inscriptions published in the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge*. Boeckh probably took *τριήρους κατάλυσις* to mean literally, as in some contexts it might, 'the disbanding of a trireme's crew' by the order of its trierarch. But this sense could scarcely be extended here to imply 'the right of a trierarch to disband his crew and to regard his duties as terminated.'

The commonest meaning of *καταλύω* and *κατάλυσις*, apart from obviously irrelevant idioms, is the irregular and abnormal dissolution, destruction, or abandonment of some established organisation or activity, and this is surely the sense in the passage under

discussion. The best literary parallel that I have found is Demosthenes 18, 102: *όρῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλύσεων*. In two other instances, [Demosthenes] 49, 13, *ἀμισθον μὲν τὸ στράτευμα καταλελύσθαι ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ*, and *ibid.* 14, where Timotheus is said to have borrowed 1,000 drachmae to distribute to the Boeotian trierarchs, lest he should incur the wrath of the Athenians *καταλυθεισῶν πρότερον τῶν τριηρῶν καὶ διαπελθόντων πρότερον τῶν στρατιωτῶν*, the meaning may be actual disbanding of the troops and crews, though in each case such disbanding or dissolution is premature and abnormal and due to lack of pay. There is a better parallel in an Attic decree almost exactly contemporary with the Polycles speech (I.G. II.² 123 = Syll.³ 192), in which various measures are prescribed *ὅπως ἀν ἔχωσιν οἱ φρονοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀνδρῷ μισθὸν . . . καὶ μὴ καταλύγηται ἡ φυλακή*. In the Polycles passage the meaning of *τριήρους κατάλυσις* must be, as the Paris *Thesaurus* and Liddell and Scott say, 'the ruin of a trireme' by the dispersal of her crew. 'Two things,' says Apollodorus, 'admittedly play havoc with a trireme—failure of pay and touching at Piraeus before the year is up.' It is true that Apollodorus was thanked by the Ecclesia and feasted at the Prytaneum when he put to sea again (c. 13); but he makes it clear that this was because he had spent his own money freely, and had got a crew together with exceptional promptitude. He was already under orders from the Ecclesia to take a new general to the Hellespont (c. 12). He always speaks of the expiration of his trierarchy—one year's service (cc. 1, 10)—as a matter of time alone (e.g. c. 14, *ὅ τε χρόνος ἔξεληλύθει μοι τῆς τριηραρχίας*; so cc. 15, 67, etc.), and never hints that his responsibilities ceased when he entered Piraeus, probably at a date at least two months¹ before the end of his year.

In Isocrates 18, 59 ff. the speaker is

¹ This is almost certain from the comparison of cc. 10 and 12: he only received two months' pay for his men in his whole seventeen months of service, and when he entered Piraeus it was eight months since he had received any. He got the two months' pay during his proper year (c. 14), probably at the beginning.

boasting of his unique loyalty after Aegospotami: ὅτε γάρ ή πόλις ἀπώλεσε τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστερήθη, τῶν μὲν πλείστων τριηραρχῶν τοσούτον διήνεγκον ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγων ἔσωσα τὴν ναῦν, αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων ὅτι καταπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ μόνος οὐ κατέλυσα τὴν τριηραρχίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσμένως ἀπαλλαττομένων τῶν λητουργιῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντ' ἀθύμως διακειμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀνηλωμένων αὐτοῖς μεταμέλον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποκρυπτομένων, καὶ νομίζοντων τὰ μὲν κοινὰ διεφθάρθαι, τὰ δ' ἵδια σκοπονυμένων, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔκεινοις γνώμην ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ

πείσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν συντριηραρχεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μισθὸν διδίνετες τοῖς ναύταις κακῶς ἐποιοῦμεν τοὺς πολεμίους. Clearly, the other trierarchs took advantage of the general panic and despair to drop their legal obligations. It would be absurd to infer from this passage the existence in normal times of such a rule as Boeckh laid down. For the phrase οὐ κατέλυσα τὴν τριηραρχίαν Plato (*Laws* 762 c) furnishes a good parallel: a guard who absents himself without leave or excuse has his name posted in the agora as καταλελυκότα τὴν φρουράν.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

FOUR PASSAGES IN DEMOSTHENES' DE CHERSONESO.

(a) § 75. οὕτω τοινυν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀν ἔγώ λέγω καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀν ὁ δεῖν' εἴπη, τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤπειτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος.

THIS is the reading of the MSS., with the exception of the Paris Sosandrian (S) and a later Florentine MS., which omit καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀν ὁ δεῖν' εἴπη, a point which does not materially affect the words to be considered.

Mr. H. Richards, in *Classical Review*, Vol. XXIX., p. 101, cited Plato, *Ion* 532c (τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη περὶ Ὄμηρου λέγειν ἀδύνατος εἶ), for the use of ἐπιστήμη λέγειν. The *Ion* discusses the question whether the critic of Homer—Ion was a professional reciter and panegyrist of Homer—speaks with art and knowledge, i.e. scientifically, basing his remarks on the principles of a craft, or enthusiastically, i.e. stimulated to express opinions by the effect produced upon him by the genius of Homer's poems. Thus in 536c Plato writes: οὐ γὰρ τέχνη οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμη περὶ Ὄμηρου λέγεις ἀ λέγεις, ἀλλὰ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ καὶ κατοκωχῇ.

If, then, we are to apply the parallel here, it would make Demosthenes suggest that a speaker in the Assembly should be required to expound the best policy scientifically, i.e. basing his views on the principles of the craft of politics.

But this is certainly not Demosthenes' view. He explicitly recognises that, in any set of circumstances, a man may be inspired, under their influence, to make on the spur of the moment a happy suggestion for dealing with them.

He recognises, that is to say, that in public speaking there is room for the 'enthusiastic' no less than for the 'scientific' adviser. Cf. *Ol. I. I*: οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκευμένος ἥκει τις, τοῦτ' ἀν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμ' ἐνίοις ἀν ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ράδιαν τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῶν αἴρεσιν γενέσθαι. The same point occurs in *de Pace* II.

Apart from this—to me decisive—consideration, a parallel from a specialised context in Plato seems hardly a reliable guide for the language of Demosthenes in a popular harangue. Mr. Richards also cited Plato, *Rep.* 422c; but as he himself added (justly) that it 'is not quite parallel,' it is perhaps unnecessary to discuss it. The conjecture ἐπισταμένον, which was impartially added to the defence by parallel of ἐπιστήμη λέγειν, is open to the same objection as that phrase, and further appears to possess on palaeographical grounds but little probability.

It is, indeed, generally agreed that ἐπιστήμη λέγειν is neither a Demosthenic phrase nor apposite here.

The proposal of Blass—ἀ δὲ βέλτιστ' ἢ μή—offers on a favourable estimate but a feeble sense. To excise λέγειν, as Blass did, removes the effective counter to ἔργα.

Sandys, in proposing ἀ δὲ βέλτιστ' ἔνεστι λέγειν, justly retained the infinitive. But, palaeographically, the reading is one hardly likely to be converted

into the tradition of the MSS., and it does not provide a satisfactory sense.

I suggest that the words of Demosthenes were à δὲ βέλτιστ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν, and that the corruption arose from a combination of two causes: (i.) Parablepsy, which led the scribe, after writing the ε of ἔστιν, to continue with τι, which preceded στ in the word before—to wit, βέλτιστ'; (ii.) the confusion in minuscule writing of ν with η. Together with haplography of the confused symbols, these causes produced βέλτιστ' ἐπιστημη, whence ἐπιστήμη was derived.

The meaning of the passage, as I understand it, is not that a man addressing the Assembly should be required to tender the *absolutely* best advice, or the best advice *possible*. That would be an altogether unfair and extravagant demand, and it would, indeed, suggest that only one policy would be proposed, and so rule out debate. It is for that reason that Sandys' à δὲ βέλτιστ' ἔνεστι λέγειν fails to commend itself. We need a qualification, and just such a one would be supplied by à δὲ βέλτιστ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν, 'the best that we have.' ἡμῖν refers to us speakers, indicated earlier in the sentence by ἔγώ and ὁ δεῖνα. Thus the suggestion of the passage accords with the manner of procedure in the Assembly that Demosthenes elsewhere approves as the right one. Cf. Ol. III. 18: καὶ νῦν οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα· ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τούτον αἰτιάσθω. Ἐπερος λέγει τις βελτίω· ταῦτα ποιεῖται ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ.

(b) § 67. οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περὶ θ' ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνους τὸν λεγόντων ὅρῳ βούλευμαντος· ὕμᾶς μὲν γάρ ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν φασι δεῖν, καὶ τις ὕμᾶς ἀδικηγει, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ δύνανται παρί ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν, οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος.

This passage is usually printed as continuous with that preceding it, a new division of the speech being indicated as beginning with the immediately succeeding paragraph, εἴτα φησὶν δις ἀν τύχῃ παρελθών κ.τ.λ.

But these words have no logical connexion with the preceding argument, which consists of an attack upon the pro-Macedonian opponents of Demosthenes, whose policy means their city's disgrace and poverty, but their own distinction and wealth; for Philip prosperity, power, and universal awe, but

for Athens isolation, insignificance, and, as far as warlike resources go, contempt. What Demosthenes adds in οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον κ.τ.λ. is no development of this theme.

Recognising this, Weil proposed to associate the words with the passage that succeeds. 'La suite du morceau,' he wrote, 'explique assez cette locution. εἴτα "puis" ne marque pas seulement un rapport de temps, mais un rapport de causalité. . . . Il est naturel, dit Démosthène, que les effrontés traitent ma modération de timidité et de mollesse. Cette liaison des idées est moins claire dans les éditions où la période οὐ . . . ἀδικοῦντος se trouve rapportée à l'alinéa précédent.'

I find a difficulty, and I think others will find one, in agreeing with Weil that εἴτα at the opening of § 68 marks a causal connexion. It seems to me to be employed, as Demosthenes normally employs it, to introduce us to a new point, important *per se*, rather than to a result flowing from what has gone before (cf. e.g. its use in § 35 of this speech). But, altogether apart from this, Weil's association of οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον κ.τ.λ. with what follows leaves still unresolved the difficulty, which he justly feels, of the connexion of these words with the passage preceding them.

I suggest that these words are *an aside*, and I think this should be made clear in the printing of the text of the speech. We are too apt to forget that Demosthenes' orations were delivered to an audience, and were, in consequence, subject to interruption from those whom they handled roughly and their supporters. The *de Chersoneso* is eminently a fighting speech. Demosthenes' opponents were clearly present in full force. His attack upon them, their pro-Macedonian policy and its results, would evoke vigorous protests, and the words οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον κ.τ.λ. represent his retort. In § 68, εἴτα φησὶν δις ἀν τύχῃ παρελθών κ.τ.λ., he resumes the thread of his discourse.

(c) § 59. ἔκεινος γάρ οὐ πολεμεῖν (sc. φέσει) ὠσπερ οὐδὲ Ὀρείταις, τῶν στρατιωτῶν δυτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίος πρότερον πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ Ὄλυνθοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῇ ἔχων. Η̄ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι διελένντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐδούν ὑπόλοιπον δουλεύειν· οὐ γάρ δῆλο γ' οὐδέν εἴτι μεταξὺ τοῦ μήτρ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτρ' ἀγειν ἡσυχίαν ἔασθαι.

Editors and translators alike make the two extremes, between which there is nothing else, *τὸ μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι* on the one hand, and *τὸ μὴ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἔσθαι* on the other. For example, Mr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, the Oxford translator, writes (p. 181): 'Slavery seems to be ironically regarded as a compromise between activity and acquiescence'; while the late Sir John Sandys' note runs: 'If, on the one hand, Philip's partisans will not allow us to resist him, and, on the other, Philip himself will not let us alone, the only course open to us is to submit to him as slaves.'

Is this sound? It seems to me that the single article *τοῦ* and the close-coupling *μήτε . . . μήτε* are, apart from consideration of sense, sufficient to prevent any suggestion of contrast or opposition between activity and quiescence, or, again, non-resistance and external interference.

In Greek one takes one's bearings 'from' a place—*i.e.* by the use of the Ablative, which has been merged with the Genitive, Case. Thus it has become usual to say that in Greek words indicative of position 'take' the Genitive. The word *μεταξύ*, 'in the middle,' necessarily involves *everywhere* two points from which bearings are taken. There cannot, of course, be 'a middle' where there is only *one* side; but in colloquial Greek—in Aristophanes, for example—where one point, in reference to which a 'middle' exists, is clearly indicated in the context, the second, defining bearing-point relative to the one already implied, may later alone be explicitly named. The other, it is assumed, is already present to the consciousness of the listener.

Thus in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 433-4,

*κεῖται δ' Ἀκωθεν τῶν Θεοστέλων ράκῶν,
μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνοῦς,*

'the Thyestean rags' are already indicated in 433 as on *one* side; it is therefore needless to repeat the phrase, and only the *other* side, 'the rags of Ino,' is added with *μεταξύ*. Similarly in Aristophanes, *Birds* 187,

ἐν μέτρῳ δηπούθεν ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ γῆς,

the *one* side, *τοὺς θεούς*, is patent in the context (l. 186); therefore it is only necessary to mention the *other*—viz. *γῆς*.

Demosthenes' prose is highly polished. But it is not artificial. It employs the idiom of established Athenian speech. It has done so here, though this, I think, has hitherto remained unrecognised.

The *one* side *δουλεύειν* is indicated clearly in the context. It corresponds to *τῶν Θεοστέλων ράκῶν* and *τοὺς θεούς* in the passages from the *Acharnians* and the *Birds*. The *other* side (not, as it has been interpreted, the *two sides*) is *τοῦ μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ' ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἔσθαι*. What Demosthenes says is that there is no *third* thing (*ἄλλο*) in between them. Or, to put it another way, they are but different sides of the *same* thing, like the obverse and reverse of a coin. *τὸ μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ' ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἔσθαι* is *seven* words for what *τὸ δουλεύειν* represents in *two*. There is nothing to separate, and so no real difference between them.

(d) § 72. *Δλλὰ συναψάνεσθαι δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι, καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον δεῖ, μή τὸ ῥάστον ἀπαρταί λέγειν· ἐπ' ἑκένοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ φύσις αὐτὴ βαδεῖται, ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ προάγεσθαι διάσκοντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.*

ἑκένοι here is *τὸ ῥάστον* and *τοῦτο* is *τὸ βέλτιστον*; the reference of the pronouns is the reverse of that which the order of the words would lead us to expect.

One of the requisites in a speaker is 'ethical' proof—*i.e.* the suggestion to the minds of an audience of the possession of a character meet for their approval (*τῷ ποιούς τινας ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς λέγοντας*, Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 1. 1). But the obtrusive employment of language designed to attract awakens suspicion and defeats its own object (*ώς γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιβούλευοντα διαβάλλονται*, *ibid.* III. 2. 5). What is true of language is no less true of 'ethical' proof. It is only too easy to protest that one is an honest man. The art is to conceal the art (*δεῖ λανθάνειν ποιοῦντας*).

The reversed use of the demonstrative pronouns here offers an example of artistic 'ethical' proof. When Demosthenes is speaking *τὸ ῥάστον* retires with *ἑκένοι* into the background. With *τοῦτο* there advances to claim the attention of his hearers *τὸ βέλτιστον* (*cf. Ol.* III. 33, where *ἑκένα* and *ταῦτα* refer respectively to objects of remoter and more immediate concern).

MARSHALL MACGREGOR.

AN EPIGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTION TO LETTERS.

INSCRIPTIONS and letters, coupled though they are in the title of a French academy, have as a rule little in common. Literary excellence is rare in the verse, still rarer in the prose of epigraphic monuments, and seldom have these any connexion with the monuments of literature. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, and one of them, less known than it should be, seems to deserve a brief notice. Of the documents preserved on stone in Asia Minor few besides the *Res Gestae* of Augustus are definitely known to have been placarded in more than one city, and chief among those important few is the decree of the Commonalty of Asia (*κοινὸν Ἀσίας*) relative to the introduction of the Julian calendar about 9 B.C. Apart from its historical value, this decree has two features of literary interest: (1) The splendid preamble in praise of Augustus,¹ evidently much admired at the time, since it is imitated in a similar document drafted several years later; (2) the casual mention in this preamble of Tullus, the friend of Propertius, revealing to us his full name and an otherwise unknown incident in his career. In order to appreciate these features we require an amended text. The fragmentary copies found at Apamea, Dorylaeum, Eumenea, and Priene were blended by Th. Mommsen and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff into the fairly complete version (*Ath. Mitt.* XXIV., p. 275 ff.) revised and annotated by W. Dittenberger in 1905 (*Orientis Gr. Inschr. sel.* 458), and adopted with some variations in 1906 by the latest editor, F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen (*Inschr. von Priene* 105); but there are lacunae still unfilled, and some of the suggested supplements seem inadequate. In the following text the restorations not due to previous editors are in the main derived from the later decree imitating ours:²

32 ἐπε[ιδὴ ή θεῶς] διατάξα τὸν βίον ἡμῶν πρόνοια σπουδὴν εἰσεν[εικα]-
[μένη και φιλοπαια τὸ τεληθταρ τῷ βιῳ διεκδομή[σεν ἀγαθὸν]
ἐνενκαρέντ τὸν Σεβαστὸν, δν εἰς εὐεργεσίαν ἀνθρώ-
[πων] ἐπλή-
35 ρωσον ἀρτίοις, (ώστερ ημεῖν καὶ τοῖς μεδ' ή[μᾶς
σωτῆρα χαρισμένη] τὸ πανσάντα μὲν πόλεμον κοσμήσοντα [δὲ εἰρήνην,
ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ]
δικαιοπ[άτησαν τὸν προλαβόντων εὐαγγέλια
πάντων ὑπερ-]
θήηκεν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγονέτ[ας εὐεργέτας
ὑπερβολῆς],
λόμενος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἀλπίδ[α ὑπολιπών
ὑπερβολῆς],
40 ηρέεν δὲ τῷ κοσμῷ τῶν δι' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελ[ων
ἡ γενέθλιος ἡμέρα]
τοῦ θεού, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ἐψηφισμένης ἐν Σμύρνῃ
[ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως]
Δευκιού Οὐδοκακίου Τύλλου, γραμματεύοντος
Παπ[α, μαρτυρίαν]
τῷ μεγίστῃ γ' εἰς τὸν θεὸν καθευρόντι τειμὰς εἶναι
[στέφανον].
Παιίλλος Φάβιος Μάξιμος διαθύκατος τῆς ἐπαρ-
χῆς [περὶ σωτηρίας]
45 ἀπὸ τῆς ἔκεινον δεξιὰς καὶ [γ]υνώμης ἀπεσταλμένος
εἰς οἰκισμούς ιδίου-
οις εὐεργέτησεν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ὃν εὐεργεσίων τὰ
μεγάθη ικανῶν]
εἰπεῖν οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸ μέχρι νῦν ἀγνοηθὲν
ὑπὸ τῶν [Ελλήνων]-
νων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τειμὴν εὔρετο, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἔκεινον γένεται.
49 σεως ἀρχεῖν τῷ βίῳ τὸν χρόνον. δι' δικτλ.

The filling of the gaps in such a piece of rhetoric is a question of fitness, not of formulae. Only a few of the supplements suggested above seem to require explanation. L. 37: *πάντων* is from l. 7 of the later text, *εὐαγγέλια* from l. 40 of ours. Our draftsman skilfully secures solemnity by repeating salient words,³ and the *εὐαγγελίων* of l. 40 finds here its counterpart. We know from the Fourth Eclogue that a Messianic *πρόληψις* of good tidings was common. For *ὑπερέθηκεν*, 'overpassed,' in the vivid sense of crossing a boundary, cf. Strabo 668: *λαοὺς . . . τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερθέντας*. L. 41: The restoration *ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως* is certain. Dating in a document such as this was necessarily in *κοινὸν* style—namely, by the high-priest of the year; cf. the coin

48 (l. 41) to 55 (l. 32); cf. the facsimile in Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 317. I am much indebted to Mr. Tod for criticism and suggestions.

³ The repetitions, evidently deliberate, are: εἰσενενκαρέν—ἐνενκαρέν (32, 34), εὐεργεσίαν—εὐεργέτας (34, 38), διεκόσμησεν—κοσμήσοντα (33, 36), ἀλπίδας—ἀλπίδα (37, 39), ὑπερβολόμενος—ὑπερβολῆς (38, 39), ἐπαρχής—ἐπαρχίαν (44, 46), εὐεργέτησεν—εὐεργεσίων (46), εὐρήμασιν—εύρετο (45, 48), τειμάς—τειμὴν (43, 48).

¹ Wilamowitz remarks that the draftsman's style rises to the high level of his task (*Ath. Mitt.* XXIV., 1899, p. 292). As to the bearing of this text on the history of Christian origins, cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (4th ed. 1923), pp. 313, 317; E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924), p. 157, note 2.

² The number of letters to a line varies from

inscribed κοινοῦ Ἀσίας, and dated ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου Κλέωνος Σαρδιανοῦ (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 251, nos. 104, 105);¹ also the Ephesus inscription of 91/92 A.D., dated both by the proconsul M. Fulvius Gillo and by the κοινόν date: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας Τιθερίου Κλαυδίου Φησείνου (*Mouseion k. Bibl.*, 1878-1880, p. 180; *R. Et. gr.* II., 1889, p. 26; *Forsch. in Eph.* II., no. 48). Mommsen was the first to identify our Tullus as the friend of Propertius, but regarded him as γραμματεὺς of Asia (*Ath. Mitt.*, l.c., p. 280); Dittenberger, while avoiding that error, supposed that this lacuna had contained a Roman official title (*Or. Gr.* I. 458, note 28). L. 42: The στέφανος referred to below (l. 56) as τὸν ἐψηφισμένον στέφανον must have been mentioned in l. 43; for μαρτυρίαν, coupled as here with the object through which the testimonial is given, cf. *Syll.*³ 1073. 46: ἐπιγραφὴν . . . τὴν τε τῶν . . . ἀγώνων μαρτυρίαν καὶ κτλ.² Other and minor details in the text as restored above are best justified by the corresponding passage of the Halicarnassus decree (*I.B.M.* 894) passed by the same κοινόν soon after 2 B.C. This is an imitation of the earlier preamble, and runs as follows:

[ἴ]νει ἡ αἰώνιος καὶ δόθαντος τοῦ παντὸς φύσις
τὸ [μὲ]-
[γ]ιστον δγαθὸν πρὸς ὑπερβαλλοθεας εὐεργεολας
ἀνθρώπων-
τοις ἔχαριστο Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐνεν[κ]αμένη,
[τ]ρόπον
5 τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐδαίμονι βίῳ πατέρᾳ μὲν τῆς [έαν]τοῦ
πα-
τρὸ[ι]δος θεᾶς Ῥώμης Διὰ δὲ πατρῷον καὶ σωτῆρα
τοῦ κοι[τ]-
[ν]οῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, οὐ νὴ πρόνοια τὰς
πάτερας [ελπίται]-
[δ]ιας οὐκ ἐπλήρωσε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερῆρεν
εἰρηνεούντος-
[σ]ι μὲν γὰρ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, κτλ.

In ll. 7-8 we may read [ἐλπίδ]ας instead of Hirschfeld's [εὐχ]άς, thus obtaining the key to the restoration of l. 37 in the earlier document.

Much of our interest in that docu-

¹ Gaebler calls this high-priest 'eponymus Provinzialoberpriester' (*Z. f. Num.* XXIV., 1903-04, p. 256²).

² The patronymic of Papias is probably omitted because he was of secondary rank; cf. the names in *I. G. Rom.* 1756, ll. 6, 120. For another γραμματεὺς Ἀσίας see *Forsch. in Eph.* III., no. 40.

ment must lie in the fact that it sheds light on a friend of Propertius and through him on the elegies (I. 1 and 6; III. 22). The reason for his friend's journey to Asia is evident from the poet's remark: 'ibis et acceptis par eris imperiis';³ Tullus was to hold there some high post, military or administrative. That he enjoyed the visit thus foreshadowed and stayed there several years is known from the question: 'Frigida tam multos placuit tibi Cyzicus annos?' (III. 22). We now further learn that about 15 to 10 B.C. he received in Asia the highest honour—short of promotion to the rank of godhead, by that time reserved for Augustus and his near relations—which its citizens could bestow: at the election preceding the Smyrna assembly (l. 41) they elected him for the year high-priest and president of the κοινὸν Ἀσίας (ll. 41-42). As nephew and namesake of the consul who had been colleague of Augustus in 33 B.C., the younger L. Volcarius Tullus probably had not only rank but also riches; if his year of office was 13 B.C., in which fell the fifth celebration of the Πωμαῖα Σεβαστά at Pergamon, he would have been agonothete of that festival as well as high-priest, and for such a combination of costly functions the choice of a rich man would have been essential. In any case the choice of the nephew was doubtless a tribute of homage to Augustus, with whose second consulship the uncle had been associated; how dangerous was that association plainly appears from the fact that their successors, the consuls of 32 B.C.,⁴ were strong partisans of Antony; no man in Asia can have seemed to the κοινόν more eligible as high-priest of 'the god'⁵ than a representative of the statesman who had sided with Octavian two years before Actium. The identity revealed by our text of this statesman's

³ If we prefer to this reading of Postgate that of Hosius, 'accepti pars eris imperii,' the inference as to the official position of Tullus remains unaltered.

⁴ Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Sosius; cf. Pauly-Wiss. Hbhd. XIX., 324.

⁵ The full style of the high-priest was ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ νιοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, *A. J. A.* XVIII., 1914, p. 355.

name with that of his nephew adds point to the challenge: 'tu patrui meritas conare anteire secures' (I. 6, 19); this was as much as to say: 'Do

your best to adorn the name L. Volca- cius Tullus even more than did your uncle the consul.'

W. H. BUCKLER.

NOTE ON TACITUS' SUMMARY OF THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.

TAC. ANN. I. 9-10.

IN view of the recent discussions of this famous summary of the reign of Augustus it may be of interest to see how far Tacitus' statements agree with historical facts and how much depends on his own personal feelings.

The summary is divided into three parts: A list of coincidences, favourable comment, and unfavourable criticism. The last is again subdivided into two parts—comments on his public policy and his private life.

The coincidences and the favourable comments are all in agreement with the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (except naturally the first).

Coincidences (1, 2):

Tac. Ann. I. 9.	<i>Monumentum Ancyranum.</i>
Time and place of death	
Number of consulships ...	Sect. 4.
Tribunician powers thirty-seven years ...	Sect. 4.
Twenty-one times imperator ...	Sect. 4.
Other distinctions ...	Sect. 4 ff., Sect. 12 ff.

Favourable comments (4-6):

Forced into civil war ...	Sect. 1.
Concessions to Lepidus ...	Sect. 10.
Vengeance on murderers	Sect. 2.
Refused absolute power	Sect. 5 ff.
Frontiers and fleet ...	Sect. 3 briefly, 25 ff. in detail.
Justice at home ...	Implied in 3 ff.
Consideration for allies ...	Sect. 3 init.
City adorned ...	Sect. 19-21.

The only matters in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* not included in Tacitus' summary are: Land grants to the soldiers, largess to the people and the treasury, census, laws to revive old customs, games, the triumphs of peace. It will thus be seen that into his brief half-page Tacitus has compressed a surprisingly large proportion of the facts mentioned in Augustus' own précis.

The statements offered by Augustus' critics are in nearly every instance either facts confirmed by contemporary evi-

dence, or charges which other authorities affirm were made against him.

Adverse criticism (Tac. Ann. I, 10):

(a) Public policies (1-3):	
Attracted soldiers by bribes	Cic. Att. 16, 8, 1; Vell. 2, 61, 2.
Collected army with own funds	<i>Monu. Anc.</i> , Sect. 1. Cic. Phil. 3, 3, 6;
Seduced troops of consuls	App. B.C. 3, 45.
Seized praetorship ...	Cic. Phil. 5, 16, 45.
Contrived death of Hirtius	Suet. Aug. 11.
Contrived death of Pansa	Suet. Aug. 11; Brut. ad Cic. 1, 6.
Seized the army ...	Dio 46, 42.
Forced his election to the consulship	Dio 46, 45.
Used the army given him against State ...	Dio 46, 43 ff.
Sex. Pompey tricked by peace	Dio 48, 46, 1.

The final peace was blood-stained. Tacitus represents the critics justifying this statement by citing the two most serious defeats sustained by Augustus' army: the defeats of Lollius, B.C. 21, in Gaul, and Varus in Germany, A.D. 9; and by three very prominent executions: that of Varro, the brother-in-law of Maecenas, for conspiracy, of Egnatius Rufus for conspiracy, and Julius Antonius for adultery with Julia. The further charge that Augustus was actuated by lust for power rather than a desire to avenge his great-uncle is a commonplace. While it is not possible to prove that 'the proscriptions, the confiscations, were measures which not even the perpetrators could approve,' the triumvirs can hardly have been charmed with a proscription list which was headed with the names of a brother of Lepidus, an uncle of Antonius, and a cousin of Augustus. Two of the charges seem to be without foundation—namely, that Lepidus was deceived under the pretence of friendship, and Antonius through the treaties of Tarentum and Brundisium.

(b) *Criticisms of Augustus' private life* (4-6):

Hasty marriage with Livia	Dio 48, 44, 2.
Intimacy with Tedium ...	(Unknown. Error in manuscript transmission.)
Intimacy with Vedius Pollio ...	Sen. <i>de Ira</i> 3, 40. <i>Cf.</i> <i>Immolatio Caesaris Hostia in Calendar at Cumae.</i>
Accepted divine honours	

Two other charges are made: That Livia was a scourge to the State (as the mother of Tiberius) and to the house of Caesar (as instrumental in causing the deaths of Gaius and Lucius), and that Tiberius was selected as an heir by Augustus that his own good qualities might be conspicuous by contrast with Tiberius' gloomy nature. While this can hardly be the case, it is true that Augustus felt frequently

prompted to apologise for Tiberius' unfortunate disposition (Suet. *Tib.* 68, 3). Both these charges arise from Tacitus' conception of Tiberius' character as a man and as a ruler, and we accept or reject them as we accept or reject Tacitus' verdict on Tiberius.

It appears, then, that in defence of Augustus Tacitus has emphasised the very things which Augustus himself chose to mention in recording his own deeds—that in criticism of his public acts he has (with two exceptions) preferred charges that can be shown to have been current at the time, and that his strictures on Augustus' private life are coloured only by his thorough-going hatred of Tiberius. He does not descend to the salacious details of Suetonius (*Aug.* 71).

LOUIS E. LORD.

DEFRVTVM.

OF a *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae et Britanicae*, published in 1565, its editor, Thomas Cooper says: 'tam accurate congestus, ut nihil pene in eo desyderari possit.' But it is ill to boast in scientific matters, and over the word DEFRTVVM Thomas trips. For he gives: 'New wine sodde, untill a thirde part be boyled away,' quoting Pliny as his authority. But neither Pliny nor Varro nor anybody else holds this view.

It may be worth while to examine some of the views put forward.

In 1740 appeared a new edition of Robertus Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, re-edited by Birrius and published at Basel. Under DEFRTVVM we find: 'Est vinum coctum usque ad consumptiōnem mediae partis, a defervendo dictum (*V. Ilin.*, lib. 14, cap. 9).' He notes, however, that Columella (XII. 21) explains DEFRTVVM as 'mustum' boiled down to a third of its original bulk; and he might have added Varro to the same effect.

It appears that the Basel editor, in giving this interpretation, disagreed with Stephanus; and he defends himself by reference to a book on diet by a Spaniard, Ludovicus Nonnius, or Luis Nuñez. This work was published at Antwerp in 1646, and it contains a full, if somewhat confused, discussion of *defrutum* and its cognates by a man who knew the thing at first hand; for Spain, like Italy, France, and South Africa, uses a sort of *defrutum* to this day.

This is what Nonnius says in Book IV., chap. xiii., of his *Dieteticon sive de re cibaria*. 'Mulso succedant Vina dulcia quae apud veteres magno in honore fuerunt, nunc vix in usu sunt; immo nomina paene obsoleta. Praecipua erant sapo, defrutum, passum, carenum.' On *defrutum* he quotes Varro from the grammarian Nonius Marcellus: 'si mustum ex duabus partibus ad tertiam redigatur deserve-

faciendo, defrutum dicitur.' This is supported by the authority of Columella (*loc. cit.*): 'Mustum quam dulcissimum decoquitur ad tertias: defrutum vocatur'; and Pliny's difference of opinion (*loc. cit.*) is noted.

This difference between the authorities as to the extent of boiling down is of minor importance. Pliny (*loc. cit.*) says that it was called *defrutum* when boiled down to a half, and *sapa* if boiled down to a third, while Varro (*loc. cit.*) reverses the proportions. Columella and, apparently, Palladius¹ support Varro. It seems very probable that Pliny was making a mistake, *more suo*. However, as Nuñez says, 'Exigua inter sapam & defrutum est differentia.'

More important is the point that neither before boiling nor after can the liquid be called *vinum* except in a rather loose way, as we apply the term 'wine' to fruit syrups. Before boiling it is *mustum* (must), the unfermented grape-juice, called in the older commentaries 'new wine.' It is noteworthy that the weightier authorities, Varro and Columella, definitely call it *mustum* (*cf.* Verg. *G. I.* 295); it is Pliny who used *vinum* in the extended sense, and even he makes it clear from his discussion in *N.H.* XIV. 16, that if he were speaking precisely he would call these fruit syrups *vina facticia*—artificial wines. It is regrettable that so many lexicographers, not excluding the editors of the German *Thesaurus*, refer to *defrutum* as '*vinum decoctum*', and that the most popular of all our commentators on Vergil writes (*ad Georg. I.* 295), 'The "must" . . . was frequently made into wine by artificial methods and that of boiling down was frequently employed, the wine so made being called by various names . . . *sapa* . . . *defrutum*', without making it quite clear that ordinary wine is not meant. The moment you boil the grape-juice, of course, you destroy the fermentation and your resultant is a syrup.

¹ Palladius is not accessible in Johannesburg.

It is interesting and significant to note that this secondary use of *vinum* is against the law; for Ulpian (*Dig.* 33. 6. 9) says: '*< Vini appellatione > defrutum non continebitur, quod potius condituae loco fuit*'—i.e., it is to be regarded rather as a preserve.

Akin to *defrutum* and *sapa* were several other preparations. Nuñez mentions *carenum* and explains it, on the authority of Isidorus, as must boiled down to two-thirds ('*tertia parte amissa*'). *Passum* is prepared from raisins: 'Passum nominabant si in vindemia uvam diutius coctam legerent, eamque passi essent in sole aduri.' (It hardly surprises us to find the doctor suggesting derivation from 'patior,' just as the grammarians, including Servius, derive *defrutum* from *fraudare*, 'quod quasi fraudem patitur,' in spite of the broad hint in its Greek equivalent *ψυημα*.)

As for the qualities of *defrutum*, it was, of course, sweet: Plautus, *Pseud.* 741, mentions it in a list of *res dulces*; dark in colour (*cf.* Stat. *Silv.* IV. 9, 39, 'dulci defruita vel lutosa caeno,' of which the Oxford translation, 'must with the sweet less boiled and thickened,' is inadequate); rich and thickish (Vergil calls it *pinguis*, *G.* IV. 269); becoming darker, richer and thicker with boiling; but surely never a 'jelly,' as Ramsay (*Antiq.*) and Smith (*Dict. Ant.*³) call it; for even when boiled down, as we know it at the Cape, to one-fourth, it is quite liquid, with a specific gravity, according to modern experts, of 1·35 [Perold: *Annale van Univ. Stellenbosch*]. While boiling it was also very liable to become foam-flecked; Vergil's housewife scums it with leaves (*G.* I. 295); and in the *Excerpta Grammatica Codicis Bobiensis*, V. 481, it is called 'spumatum.'

It was used (a) to sweeten or to give flavour to certain wines ('ferociam vini frangunt,' Plin. *N.H.*, XIV. 19. *Cf. Cat. Agr.* XXIII. 2, where the instruction is to add a thirtieth part of *defrutum* to the wine); (b) as a preservative for olives—it contains much natural sugar (Cato, *Agr.* VII. 4, 'oleas sine sale in defrutum condito'); (c) it, or its kinsman *sapa*, was used as a drink, 'ein beliebtes Getränk,' says Blümner in the *Hindbuch*. Martial, for instance, receives a flask of *sapa* from his friend Umber (IV. 46). But that it could ever have been drunk neat, even when boiled down only to one-half, nobody who knows the thing will believe. Indeed Ovid implies that *sapa* was sometimes mixed with milk, just as wine was mixed with water ('velut cratera,' *Fasti* IV. 706). (d) It was used for medicinal purposes, 'necnon ex ipso musto fuent medicamina,' says Pliny, *N.H.* XIV. 19—and Nuñez refers to it as good for liver and bile—'hepatis et lienis obstructiones promovebunt.'

It remains to remark that our present experts in viticulture are well acquainted with the modern equivalent of *defrutum*; that they call it grape-syrup, and are concerned to make it rival 'golden syrup' in commercial value; that its best consistency for this purpose is attained when it is boiled down to about one-fourth of its original bulk; that it is still used to sweeten wines—for instance, the Malaga wines of Spain, where, as in the days of Nuñez, it is called

'arrope'; that the Boers of the Cape, with whom it is very popular, call it 'moskonfyt'—i.e., 'mustum confectum'; and that children's doctors have recently extolled its dietetic virtues.

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NOTE.—My thanks are due to Mr. E. Berridge of the Perse School, Cambridge, for references not here accessible.—T. J. H.

ELIDED SPONDEES IN THE SECOND AND THIRD FOOT OF THE VERGILIAN HEXAMETER.

In his edition of *Aeneid*, Book VI., Norden¹ sides with those who believe *Aeneid* II. 567-588 not to be genuine. As part of the internal evidence against these lines he uses the following argument. In lines 573, 580, and 587 occur spondaic words of which the first syllable ends the second foot and of which the second syllable is elided. This formation, he says, is not frequent in Vergil, and it is found on the average once in 89 lines, while in this passage we have it three times in 15 lines. These figures are correct but misleading, for the simple reason that, while Vergil is careful to avoid metrical monotony, he will often nevertheless use even a comparatively rare arrangement more than once in lines not far from each other. Thus no one, I presume, questions the authenticity of *Aeneid* XII. 757 ff., yet three times in 15 lines occurs this same formation:

responsant circa et . . . (XII. 757)
Laurenti diuo et . . . (XII. 769)
sustulerant puro ut . . . (XII. 771)

Compare with these two contiguous lines in Book IX. (677, 678), three not far off in Book III. (188, 200, 222), and other similar examples.² Moreover, one of the lines in question (II. 573) contains *Troiae et* in this position, where the same words occur in X. 214 (*Troiae* also is elided in the same place in the line in V. 626). Compare, too, the somewhat analogous *Teucri ac* (IX. 34, 510) in the same place in the line.

Disyllabic words ending in -m or a short vowel are, of course, more commonly elided in this position than such disyllables as are spondees, but is the metrical effect notably different? Thus in XII. 773 (two lines after those mentioned above) we have the commoner formation *detulerat fixam et* which gave a sound surely very little varying from that of line 771.

S. K. JOHNSON.

¹ Second Edition, 1916: Anhang XI. 1, 3.

² E.g., II. 55, 58, 88, 212, etc.; V. 133, 157, etc.; VI. 451, 481, 514, etc.; VII. 8, 20, 54, etc.; X. 698, 716, etc. Naturally, when, as in the lines criticised, the word with which the long syllable is blended is the monosyllable *et* or *ac*, the metrical effect of the whole line is not the same as when it is a long word, thus making a broken caesura. But it does not effect Norden's point.

HORACE, ODES I. 14.

*O nauis, referent in mare te nous
fluctus! O quid agis? fortiter occupa
portum.*

THE last phrase has caused uneasiness (see *C.R.* XXXIII. 101, and on the other side *C.R.* XXXIV. 34), on the ground that to make for harbour in a storm does not show courage. At least four verse-translators of repute have instinctively ignored *fortiter*. But it seems quite appropriate, whether it means 'not giving way to despair and ceasing to struggle,' as Greek sailors might in an extremity, or 'with all your might' (see L. and S. s.v.), as Orelli takes it; or indeed the word may combine the two senses. But in any case *a priori* justification is unnecessary now that we have more of Alcaeus (*Ox. Pap.* 1789, fr. 1, col. ii.). In three words Horace is reproducing the lines:

εἰς δὲ ἔχυρον λίμενα δρόμωμεν
καὶ μὴ τιν' ὄκνος μόλθακος ἀμέων?
λάρψ . . .

The Latin *fortiter* also doubtless assisted the editor of the papyrus to supply a gap a few lines below:

καὶ μὴ κατασχύνωμεν [ἀνανδρίᾳ]
ἕστοις τόκης . . .

H. RACKHAM.

TACITUS, HISTORIES, II. 86.

'SED procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens aetate, claris natalibus. Prima iuventa quietis cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat.'

Most editors reject the words 'quietis cupidine' of the manuscripts, and Spooner says that they seem impossible. Various emendations have been suggested, the chief being 'inquietus cupidine,' which Spooner adopts, and 'quaestus cupidine,' a suggestion of Grotius adopted by Heraeus. One editor, Simcox, retains the MS. reading, but his interpretation does not carry conviction.

Both the above emendations imply two things:

- (a) That the object of Fuscus in changing his status was one of gain, and
- (b) That his reputation for zeal in later life precludes a desire for quiet in youth.

But both these assumptions seem to me to be without foundation. In the very next sentence Tacitus definitely contradicts the first by saying, 'Non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus.'

The second does not take into consideration the different circumstances of Fuscus' youth and his old age. His youth was spent under Nero, at a time when, as Tacitus tells us elsewhere, (*Agrius* 6. 4), 'inertia pro sapientia fuit.' What more natural than that Fuscus should be wise enough to avoid publicity? 'Prima iuventa' will then be equivalent to 'sub Nerone,' and contrasted with 'pro Galba' of the next sentence. 'Idem' will then of course be used, as it commonly is, to mark the contrast between the two periods of Fuscus' life. On the death of the tyrant, Fuscus threw his weight on to the

side of his enemy and successor, all the more vigorously for his enforced inaction.

The reading of the MSS. is therefore quite defensible, and in fact gives a more consistent sense than the emendations proposed.

H. HILL.

PLUTARCH, LUCULLUS, C. 20.

PLUTARCH, describing the wretched state of debtors in Asia, says that they had to sell their sons and daughters, public memorials, pictures and dedicated statues, and even to become slaves themselves, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, σχονισμοὶ καὶ κυκλίδες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ στάσεις ὑπαιθροὶ, καίματος μὲν [ἐν] ἥλιῳ, ψύχους δὲ εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβιβαζομένων ἡ πάγον, so that slavery seemed a release from debt, and peace. L. and S., ignoring ἵπποι, say 'κ. . . probably means waitings at the bar, the law's delays.' 'σχονισμοὶ, κυκλίδες' But surely the law's delays and rope-fences are a curious combination, and in any event could hardly be described as χαλεπώτερα than the sale of the sufferer's children. And, further, what have they to do with ἵπποι? The earlier translators thought, and I believe rightly, that the words described certain forms of torture. The Latin version of Rualdus gives 'Fidiculae, carceres, equulei,' and Langhorne says 'prisons, racks, tortures.' The words, indeed, seem to be borrowed from the 'equulei, et fidiculae, et ergastula' of Seneca, *De Ira* III. 3, a work which Plutarch may have read. It can hardly be doubted that ἵπποι are 'equulei,' and it would seem to follow that the other words denote other forms of torture. κυκλίδες will be 'fidiculae,' the name being due to the fact that the ramifications of the cords resembled lattice-work, while σχονισμοὶ implies that that particular penalty was inflicted by means of ropes. The facts seem rightly stated by the curious miscellanist Caelius Rhodiginus: 'Fidiculas accipiunt pro tormento, quo ab tortore sontes funibus alligatis manibus a tergo torquentur vulgo. Ejus certatim meminerunt Seneca, Fabius, caeteri. σχονισμός a Graecis dicitur genus id cruciamenti, aut compar' (X. 5). The στάσεις κτλ., as proved by ἐμβιβαζομένων, do not refer to uncomfortable visits paid to the creditors, but were, as Rualdus says, 'stationes sub dio per aestum in sole, hieme in luto vel glacie, quo eos compulerunt.'

HERBERT W. GREENE.

A VIRGILIAN REMINISCENCE IN APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS.

THE power of an obsession is curiously revealed in the treatment by editors and critics of Sidon. *Carm.*, V. 164 f. This passage occurs in the panegyric on Majorian. The wife of Aetius, filled with jealous fears, tells her husband that Majorian, still a mere youth, is marked out as the coming Emperor, not only by omens and auguries, but by his supremacy in all departments of manly prowess, in each of which he outrivals the boasted heroes of ancient story. In v. 164 she passes from his skill as a boxer to his speed as a runner:

qui uigor in pedibus ! frustra sibi natus Ofelte
Sicaniam tribuit palmam, plantasque superbas
haud ita per siccum Nemeen citus extulit
Arcas. . . .

Arcas is Atalanta's son, Parthenopaeus, who, as Statius tells us in a passage which Sidonius has in mind (*Theb.* VI. 561 ff.), won the footrace at the first celebration of the Nemean games, in the course of the expedition against Thebes. Statius adopts the usual story, that the games were instituted in honour of the boy Opheltes, who was killed by a snake in the absence of his nurse, Hypsipyle. It stands to reason that this Opheltes had no son—then what does *natus Ofelte* mean? And why *Sicaniam*? Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (see index to Luetjohann's ed., s.v. Opheltes), after men-

tioning that Sidonius is recalling Statius' account of the games in honour of Opheltes, says of vv. 164 f.: 'ipse locus de Ophelte obscurus est et sine dubio perturbatus.' But so far from being obscure, the sentence is as clear as daylight if we disabuse our minds of the unfortunate infant aforesaid and remember that Opheltes was the name of Euryalus' father (*Verg. Aen.* IX. 201). *Natus Ofelte* is therefore Euryalus, and *Sicaniam palmam* refers to his victory at the funeral games in Sicily, described in *Aen.* V. Majorian is declared superior (1) to Euryalus, (2) to Parthenopaeus. It is hard to believe that no one has seen this, but to the best of my knowledge the passage has never been correctly explained.

W. B. ANDERSON.

REVIEWS

A NEW HISTORY OF GREEK RELIGION.

Die Religion der Griechen. Von OTTO KERN. Erster Band: von den Anfängen bis Hesiod. Pp. viii + 307. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. M. 11, unbound; M. 15, bound.

THIS work is marked by outstanding virtues and equally outstanding defects. The former are due to the industry and common sense of the author, together with his first-hand knowledge, not only of the writings and material remains, but also of the land of the Hellenes; the latter spring partly from his mental character—like many of his countrymen he is rather sentimental, and his logic is not always of the best—partly from strange gaps in his reading, wide though that is. His good sense is shown, for example, by the attitude which he takes up (p. 13) towards anthropology and the Comparative Method; by his recognition (p. 33) that the goddess Earth is 'diese Scholle Erde, in der sie lebt' and not the Earth in general; in all he says about stellar cults (as pp. 21, 46, and elsewhere); in his remarks on the relation between spell and prayer (p. 151); and, I would say, in his unqualified rejection of the theory that Apollo is a Lykian god (p. 110). His diligence is apparent from a mere glance at the footnotes of his book, which witness to the reading and digesting of a vast amount of specialist literature, by no means all bearing on the subjects of the works he has hitherto published. But in nearly all that he says (apart from

bare facts) concerning the cult of a Mother Goddess in Greece and elsewhere, for example, I can find little but a reading into ancient religious phenomena of his own amiable feelings towards women. Moreover, where he and every other researcher is obliged to go a little beyond the facts and resort to hypothesis, I cannot find that he reasons well or convincingly. One of the main theses of his book (especially Chap. IX.) is, that the Olympian religion made its way by deliberate propaganda and something amounting almost to persecution of the prehellenic cults; to this neither the facts he adduces nor any others known to the reviewer appear to bear sufficient witness, and some make decidedly against it. The Olympic religion made its way rather because it was incomparably the nobler religion, and attracted the noblest minds in the mixed population of Homeric and posthomeric Greece, notably the minds of Homer and Hesiod. On smaller points, he seems again and again to argue, 'If A, then B; but B; therefore A.' Thus, he asserts that the title *Naios* of the Dodonaian Zeus is to be explained by supposing that he displaced an earlier *Quellengott* (pp. 90, 182). So it may be; but what of the equally natural explanation that Zeus took a title from a spring which may or may not have been an important sacred well before his arrival at Dodona? If space permitted, a score of examples of reasoning as bad or worse might easily

be given. The result is that his positive contributions to the theory of the subject will be received with a good deal of doubt by the cautious reader, and not least the etymologies he adopts (e.g., Apollo from *ἀπέλλα* in the sense of 'fold, enclosure'; Amphitrite, 'of high lineage on both sides,' Aphrodite 'die auf dem Schaume wandelnde'). They seem nowhere to be impossible; but those who remember the many plausible suggestions which once were confidently received and have now passed into limbo will cultivate suspension of judgement here. His reading, if he were an Englishman, would be said to betray insularity, for it seldom goes beyond the works of his own countrymen; thus, very little use is made of books and articles in English, French, and Italian, many of which should have been mentioned, while some would have saved him from slips, or at least from very doubtful assertions. In particular it is curious that for modern Greek folklore he goes to Schmidt instead of Politis.

His anthropology badly needs to be revised and brought up to date—witness, for example, his persistent misuse of the word 'fetish.' As to his ethnology, this is hardly the time to be too certain that the Greeks reached Greece from the north and via Thessaly only, as he seems to do.

But when all deductions have been made, the book remains a notable contribution. The only serious objection to its form is, that as he seems to be writing mainly for specialists, he might have saved space by omitting some translations and utilised it by giving much fuller references to ancient literature; if he is addressing the general educated public, most of his footnotes and addenda will be lost on them. Students of Greek religion ought to add this volume to their libraries and to look forward with interest to the two which are to follow, especially as this one seems rather decidedly to improve towards the end as it gets on firmer ground.

H. J. ROSE.

OLYMPIA.

Olympia, its History and Remains.

By E. NORMAN GARDINER, D.LITT.

Pp. xx+316. 129 illustrations (both plates and text blocks). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 30s. net.

DR. NORMAN GARDINER deserves the thanks of English-speaking scholars for this useful guide to Olympia and the various publications concerning its history, antiquities, and excavations. Apart from the monumental German publication (which is not easily accessible to all) of the results of the great excavations, several important papers have appeared in recent years describing and discussing Dr. Dörpfeld's later work on the site. There is also a great mass of literature dealing with the sculptures and other monuments, the origins of the festival and other aspects of this Pan-Hellenic sanctuary. Dr. Gardiner's book is a kind of scientific Baedeker to all this miscellaneous archaeological literature, and is devoted to two main aims—to summarise and illustrate the results of the great German excavations, and to trace the history of Olympia and its festival. It achieves both objects,

but of course cannot be considered complete, and there are some points where a few simple changes would have made the book more practical. The white cover, though handsome, is a mistake from the point of view of the traveller who wishes to use it on the site. He would also be glad if the book were a trifle smaller, and this could have been attained by omitting certain portions without destroying its usefulness. Chapter II., the Geography of the Northwest Peloponnese, the latter part of Chapter III. on the Prehistoric Remains of Kakovatos, Chapter IV. on Peoples and Cults of the Northwest Peloponnese, could have been omitted without spoiling the book. Chapter V. on the Origin of the Olympic Festival is interesting, but the latter part of this which deals with modern speculations as to the *raison d'être* of the games might have been still further compressed, as Dr. Gardiner has already treated the subject fully in the *Hellenic Journal*. The various modern theories cannot be considered certain, for they disagree with one another, and they are hardly essential

for understanding of the cults of Olympia and their history. so reduced in bulk and in a kram binding would be a valuable travelling companion. These points however, concern only the plan of the volume. The contents of a comprehensive work of this character can, of course, easily be criticised in its details. It is unfortunate that the author did not rewrite the chapter on the Heraion so as to do full justice to Dörpfeld's latest excavations there, which prove that this temple, once regarded as the oldest Greek temple, was built above the ruins of two previous temples, the earliest of which dates from the eighth century B.C. The author is a believer in the northern theory and brings Poseidon as well as Zeus from that religion whence also came a continuous movement of worshippers of the Sky God. He rejects Pausanias' statements about the authorship of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus and would like to assign them to a native Elean school. He does not discuss the many solutions suggested for this problem, but a list of them in tabular form would have been useful. In dealing with the Great Altar of Zeus on p. 194

he might have referred back to p. 26, where he mentions the prehistoric remains formerly identified with this altar. The apsidal plan of the wings of the Bouleuterion might have been more fully treated and further references given, as, for instance, to the apsidal shrine of classical date of Corinth and to Buschor's belief that some of the early sanctuaries at the Acropolis at Athens also had an apse at one end. More attention might have been paid to minor details. We note mistakes like Dickinson for Dickins and Dittenberg for Dittenberger, while the spelling of Greek names, ancient and modern, seems inconsistent. Sometimes opisthodomos is used and sometimes opisthodome, and Hagios Johannes shows two systems. It would have been better, e.g. on p. 140, to have used Antigonos throughout and to have avoided Monophthalmos. The footnotes require more revision, and when several books are quoted by their titles, e.g. on p. 28, the names of the authors should have been added. The illustrations are on the whole good, but several of the small line blocks in the text, e.g. Figs. 18 and 36, are not up to the standard of the Clarendon Press.

A. J. B. WACE.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR INTERPOLATION IN HOMER.

The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer. By GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING. Pp. xii+259. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 21s. net. 1925.

MR. BOLLING's aim is excellent. He bids us turn from vain disputing about origins to the tradition. What lines are shown by external witnesses (quotations, scholia, papyri, medieval manuscripts) to be post-Aristarchean, post-Zenodotean, post-Peisistratean? There he stops, since a sixth-century Athenian text is, in his view, the fountain-head: not a jot of earlier material, except what this included, 'seeped' into local texts. That view is disputable: the suggestion that the 'City' texts, for instance, were so called from the markets to which Alexandria exported them, not from their places of origin, is improbable (see Allen, *O. and T.*, pp. 283-296). But that is a detail not essential to B.'s argument.

Summarising his own earlier work, he

asks for definitive rejection, as post-Aristarchean, of some six score lines from the *Iliad*, some nine score from the *Odyssey*. Freed from these, he says, the vulgate of the *Iliad*, at any rate, contains all lines attested for the text of Aristarchus, and not one demonstrably unknown to him. That is impressive, whether we think with Mr. Bolling that the longer texts were killed by the professors, or with Mr. Allen that the Roman publishers are to be thanked. But when we hear that, with the cuts suggested, and no others, the vulgate will agree with Aristarchus 'line for line,' we grow uneasy. What if fresh papyri weakened the authority for other 'formulaic lines' than those now listed? Would they not go to swell the list? What if Γ389, a good line, well placed, and by no means so dispensable as e.g. Γ319, were yet found well attested in papyri? The absence or the presence

of such lines in casual papyri adds little to our knowledge, and our judgment of probabilities must in part be based on the intrinsic value of the lines.

There are many things, in fact, to give us pause. 'B 558 *om.* Aristarchus,' Mr. Bolling writes, and relegates the famous line to limbo, 'post-Aristarchean.' But we thought that Aristarchus knew the line and athetised it. Witness Aristonicus (Schol. A on Γ230): 'Idomeneus in the *Review* is next to Ajax, as is consistent: so the line which some read in the Catalogue is to be deprecated (*παραιτητέον = ἀθετητέον*, see Allen in *C.R.*, 1901, pp. 8-9): the Athenians were not next Ajax.' So vivid is the report. We almost hear the master lecturing and see the pupils marking the offending words. Mr. Bolling suggests that what Aristonicus meant was this: 'The line was absent from the master's text, and I reject it, though I find it in some texts.' But to interpret scholia in this light-hearted fashion is to cut away the basis of our knowledge. B.'s grim congratulation to 'the junior editor' of the Oxford text (p. 3), in reference to that same line, does less than justice to the Oxford scholar's subtle humour.

We pass, with hopes a little clouded, to the region where 'continuous *recensio* becomes impossible.' Bethe thinks, 'except for *Kleinigkeiten*,' that the text of Aristarchus was identical with the Athenian *Mutterschrift*. To Wilamowitz 'before Zenodotus lies chaos.' Both, we agree, exaggerate. For Zenodotus, as Mr. Bolling says, our evidence is fragmentary and biased: he may sometimes have been guided by manuscripts where he is said to have merely slashed at the text. Our witnesses sometimes profess to know the reasons for his atheeses and omissions, sometimes frankly own their ignorance (e.g., Aristonicus on B552-5: 'Z. athetised, perhaps because . . . but Homer often . . .'). There speaks Aristarchus, honestly and wisely). But, says Mr. Bolling, since Z. left no commentary, none could ever know his reasons. So the later critics guessed maliciously and wrongly. Mr. Bolling's guesswork is at least benevolent. But Z. had pupils. Does it follow that, because he left no commentary, there was no tradition and no knowledge of

his reasons? That might be the unhappy result if some of us should print our text of 'Homer' without notes. But to suggest that Aristarchus never knew, but always guessed at, Z.'s processes of thought, then polemised against them, puts a strain upon our credulity.

Z. athetised A 4-5, we know not why. Was *αὐτὸς* a stumbling-block? Did he resent the reference to Zeus? Mr. Bolling finds it 'difficult to see a reason unless the lines were absent from some MSS.' 'If so,' he goes on, 'the interpolation will have been made,' etc. Would the absence of the lines from some of the texts known to Z. dispose of them as certainly interpolations? Yes, says Mr. Bolling. Leaf, in deprecating the assumption of lacunae, said it would be hard to show that any line, when once admitted into the tradition, had been lost. Mr. Bolling goes further. Every line in the genuine (*i.e.*, Peistratorean) text was contained in every edition. He states it as a 'working' hypothesis, and seems to use it as a maid of all work.

Plato's paraphrase of A 17-42 (*Rep.* III., 393 D) ignores line 31, which would in fact be irrelevant to his argument, though B. says 'the *ἀπρεπὲς* would have been grist for Plato's mill.' B. infers that Aristarchus, when he athetised this line, was led by MS. evidence. But Aristonicus says the athetesis covered 29-31, and 29-30 were in Plato's text, and one objection, which will not hold water, to these same two lines is answered elsewhere in a note which seems Aristarchean. It looks as if the critic said, 'The first two lines are defensible, but the whole passage weakens the threat and is *ἀπρεπὲς*, and must go.' Mr. Bolling bids us treat the lemma, *τὴν δ' ἐγώ οὐ λύσω*, as corrupt, and change *ἀθετοῦνται ὅτι λύνονται* to *ἀθετεῖται ὅτι λύεται*. So anxious is he to get rid of 31, he actually hints that concubinage might, as Aristarchus thought, be some alleviation of the royal threat.

One more example: for Γ423-6 Zenodotus read a single line, 'But she herself sat down before Alexander.' His reason, says the scholiast, was the *ἀπρεπὲς* of Aphrodite waiting on Helen like a servant. Mr. Bolling, ignoring this, declares: 'The text of Z. offers no

difficulty. Aphrodite has played her part and is dropped by the poet. The interpolator . . . sought to give her a formal dismissal. The attempt was unsuccessful, for he too simply drops her at the end.' Astonishing interpolator! He could write lines 423-6, but could not manage 'So the smiling goddess went away.' Frankly, I don't believe it. Guess for guess, I prefer the scholiast. Z. may have had before him both the shorter and the longer versions, and have used his judgment; but, if so, it does not follow he was right, and Aristarchus wrong. Nor is it true that the shorter version 'offers no difficulty.' When Iris fetched her, Helen was at work in the megaron. When Paris was snatched from the field, Aphrodite put him down in the thalamos. When Helen came back, 'her maidens turned to their work, and she went to the thalamos,' if Aristarchus is right, but 'sat down opposite Alexander,' presumably in the megaron, if we follow Zenodotus.

One 'difficulty' there is in the longer version. At 426 'the interpolator' betrays himself by giving Helen an epithet reserved elsewhere for Athene, 'child of aegis-bearing Zeus.' That surely is decisive? Read again, and note how Helen was first simply 'white-armed Helen,' 121, but became in 171 δία γυναικῶν, just before shame made her call herself 'the dog-faced,' 180. Then at 199, with Homer's usual chias-

mus of effect, she is Διὸς ἐκγεγανῖα, and at 228, τανύπεπλος . . . δῖα γυναικῶν, just before she heaps upon herself reproaches for the second time. Now, in the sequel, what shall Homer call her? At 383 Aphrodite went to summon 'Helen,' and said, 'Come hither,' giving her no title. Helen would not go until the goddess threatened. Then 'the child of Zeus' became afraid. But the climax is not yet. 'When they came to the palace, the maidens turned to their work at once, but Helen, glorious among women, went to the high-roofed thalamos. And the goddess took a chair and made her sit in front of Alexander—there sat Helen, daughter of the aegis-bearer Zeus, turning her eyes away.' It is true that at the crisis of her failure and humiliation a great poet has bestowed on Helen the high title which in general he keeps for a bright goddess. Presently, when Paris leads the way, it is 'his wife' who follows.

These are only illustrations. As an amateur, I wish to speak with all due deference of Mr. Bolling's diligence and erudition. Though I think his methods will not disperse the darkness which the gods have laid on the Homeric battle-field, I have read his book with interest, and remember Cauer's phrase, about the expert who had taunted him with ignorance: 'He thinks us his opponents. We are fellow-workers.'

J. T. SHEPPARD.

STUDIES OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Irony: An Historical Introduction. By J. A. K. THOMSON. Pp. 242. London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1926. 7s. 6d.
Leaves of Hellas: Essays on some Aspects of Greek Literature. By MARSHALL MACGREGOR. Pp. vii + 300. London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1926.

PROFESSOR THOMSON's book, as I judge from its avoidance of the Greek language and the large quantity of brisk translation and paraphrase which it contains, is aimed chiefly at the Greekless. It is written in a lively and readable manner with an assumption (doubtless unconscious) of mastery of the subject; and it contains a fair number of acute observations, not all of them new. But

it is by no means a safe guide. Within the first twenty pages (1) we are told that is extraordinary that Plato has nowhere discussed the full meaning and nature of Irony. 'Why do we never get from him the subtle discussion we should have expected?' Not, surely, if we knew Plato well. (2) The Greeks are 'so trite and inarticulate' about Irony. They could scarcely be both at once; but I suspect that the phrase should be 'trite or inarticulate,' the latter adjective being designed for Plato and the former (save the mark!) for Aristotle, whose definition of Irony the author mentions with some disfavour but *does not quote*. And (3) the plot of an Athenian comedy

'must be the defeat of the Alazon by the Eiron,' the only exception being the *Birds*. If Professor Thomson did not invent this, he is at least responsible for his acceptance of it. In detail, too, there are some serious errors—e.g., *Il.* VI. 465 is translated 'before I hear your' (*σῆς*) 'cry and the rude hands laid upon thee'; and in a rendering of Persius' *Prologue* we read 'MESSER GASTER, MASTER OF ARTS, who giveth wit at need,' where (1) there is no violent emphasis to justify the small capitals, (2) MESSER is not in the Latin and is *ξενικόν*, (3) GASTER is *ξενικώτερον*, rendering in fact *ignotum per ignotius*, (4) MASTER OF ARTS has acquired connotations which do not belong to the original and has practically lost the central meaning of *magister*, and (5) 'at need' suggests that the donor is rather *parcus* than *largus*.

In the secular struggle this book does not range Professor Thomson in the ranks of the *εἰπωνες*.

It is refreshing to turn to Mr. MacGregor, who has here collected the *Lesefrüchte* of several years spent in teaching. His topics are various, ranging from Hesiod to Lucian, with a charming essay on Greek (and other)

dogs to round off the volume; but in dealing with each he exhibits real learning, not confined to the ancient languages, and his scholarship is unimpeachable. Perhaps the best essays are one on Pindar (supplemented by workmanlike translations in verse), in which he shows, as against a dictum of Professor Conway's, that when the poet praises his patrons he praises them only for what they really possess, and never sacrifices his self-respect, and one on Lucian, where he unconsciously provides a complete answer to Professor Thomson's superficial condemnation of that writer's character. At times it is not easy to accept Mr. MacGregor's conclusions—e.g., I find it hard to digest his notion that the *ἄλογον ἔξω τοῦ μυθεύματος* in the case of Oedipus was really the Sphinx; but his views are always given with due reserve and entitled to respect, and his admirably complete series of references enables the reader to check his reasoning at every point. About Mr. MacGregor's style there is a certain astringency which occasionally touches the verge of harshness; but in general its effect is wholesomely bracing, and the book may be warmly commended to all lovers of Greek literature.

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

ALY'S GREEK LITERATURE.

Geschichte der griechischen Literatur.
By WOLF ALY. Pp. xvii + 418.
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ in. Bielefeld and Leipzig:
Velhagen and Klasing, 1925.

THIS book gives us a survey of Greek literature from Homer to Eusebius, and is all the more welcome as the author has adopted a somewhat new method of grouping. His aim is to bring out the influences which went to the making of the classical masterpieces, arranged according to the intellectual tendencies of each age. It is well for once to see Aeschylus separated from his dramatic rivals and to examine him in his relation to Pindar and Xenophanes, and to release our authors from the water-tight compartments usually labelled 'historians,' 'dramatists,' etc., and to regard them as representing certain common lines of thought in each generation, irrespective of the form in

which they chose to cast their ideas. Such a method certainly tends to make the student ignore the artistic setting and the purely aesthetic value of the ancient classics; but Aly has avoided this pitfall and gives full credit to the beauty of the outward form as well as to the spirit of which it is but the envelope.

We by no means always agree with the opinions expressed; but the author deserves our thanks for stirring us up and making us re-examine views which we are prone to accept as axioms that need no proof. He is particularly happy in his just estimate of Xenophon and is far from sharing what one can only call the scornful contempt of many modern critics. We are also grateful for his appreciation of Lysias and that delicate, exquisite, and subtle art which so rarely receives its due recognition.

Aly believes in a much-divided Homer, but gives no convincing reason for his creed. After the researches of recent years one is surprised to find the *Catalogue* still regarded as among 'the very latest' (*allerspätesten*) portions of the two epics; nor do we think the author justified in declaring that the late composition of the *Doloneia* is universally admitted (p. 20). Our literary appreciation of the *Odyssey* is hardly helped by the suggestion that Odysseus was originally the moon (p. 22). Nor can we subscribe to the view that 'the technique of the two epics makes it certain that they were not completed in the course of one and the same generation' (p. 23). If we accept the canons

of Aly's school we must deny every author the right and indeed the ability to repeat himself or to change his tone and method. Much reading of Homeric criticism makes it increasingly difficult to believe that the author of *Paradise Lost* followed it up with *Paradise Regained*, a book so sober in tone and unadorned with similes. We must also seek for the unknown poet who wrote the *Purgatorio* with its moral system so different from that of the *Inferno*, and Mr. Thomas Hardy will have to choose between *Tess* and *Under the Greenwood Tree*; it is obvious that the same man cannot have written two books so different in form and outlook.

T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE GREEKS.

The Political Ideas of the Greeks. By J. L. MYRES. Pp. xii + 271. London: Arnold, 1927. 14s.

THESE lectures afford delightful but not easy reading. The detail demands and deserves continuous close attention. The lecturer's range of knowledge, fertility of ideas, and nimbleness of mind give the reader a sad but salutary sense of his own slow-wittedness; but if all that he has to offer is not readily to be grasped at the first glance, or even at the first reading, it is because there is so much which stimulates reflection. The main business of the book is the examination of a number of terms, *Polis*, *Demos*, *Themis*, *Arkhé* (presumably so transliterated to avoid confusion with Archie: the reason for *Tykhe* is less obvious), *Dike*, *Physis*, *Nomos*, and so on, and the illustration of the development and content of Greek political concepts from the history of verbal usage. In following and testing the argument the references are all-important; it is therefore to be regretted that the notes are arranged in the least convenient way for ready consultation. The subject, which throughout is treated at first hand and not distilled from secondary erudition, is obviously of importance, not only to historians and philosophers, but to all students of Greek civilisation, and no one can fail to profit, both by agreement and difference, from reading a book which is in

the best sense stimulating and suggestive.

In a few points of detail one suspects that statement outstrips evidence. If it can be shown that Homeric kings elicited *themistes* 'by performing ritual acts and thereby putting themselves into communion with the gods or a god' (p. 79), it is a matter of interest and importance for students of religion. If 'disreputable foreign worships like that of Dionysos were quite beneath the notice of the high-priestly Basileus' (p. 130), how very odd that his wife should annually be married to the god! The more probable explanation of the control of the newer forms of state religion by the Archon eponymos is the Greek tendency to give the control of the state religion to the secular head of the state. Occasionally one suspects that the view of an historian has supplanted the contemporary Greek view of the facts. Thus it is true that imperial Athens secured the essential Hellenic command of the Aegean in consideration of a very modest annual levy. But whether this was the way contemporaries looked at it may be doubted, and the statement that no question was raised as to the propriety of the arrangement until trouble arose from the uses to which the Athenians put their accumulated balances may be thought to misrepresent the reason why Athenian imperialism came to grief.

On p. 39 a sharp contrast is drawn between the use of 'demos' and that of 'polis' (*I.G.* II. 5, 186) or 'Athenians' (Hicks and Hill, 32) in Athenian public documents; the first is always used of internal affairs and never in connexion with foreign affairs. Well, Hicks and Hill, 32, is the Erythrai decree; with this the Chalkis decree (Hicks and Hill, 40) is legitimately comparable. But here the oath reads οὐκ ἀποστῆσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων . . . καὶ τῶι δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων βοηθήσω καὶ ἀμυνώ, ἐάν τις ἀδικήῃ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πείσομαι τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων. Admittedly in all foreign treaties the simple name of the peoples concerned is more usual, but again in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*⁸, 151, we have δῆμος Κορκυραίων and δῆμος Ἀθηναίων.

To Professor Pearson's inaugural lecture,¹ which I think Professor Myres has overlooked, I owe the knowledge that there are four, not three, references to *nomos* in Hesiod. In the fourth (*Erg.* 388) οὐτός τοι πεδίων πέλεται νόμος, the word has very much the force which is here given to the root meaning of *thesmos*, 'the regular mode of behaviour.' On the other hand, although in Attica the word *thesmoi* was superseded by *nomoi*, that does not seem to have happened everywhere in Greece (see Busolt, *Gr. Staatskunde* I., p. 456, n. 1).

On the strength of Diomedes' claim in *Iliad* IX. 32-3, Professor Myres claims the right of free speech for all individual members of an Homeric

agora. Thersites, according to him (p. 43), spoke outside an *agora*, and therefore was justifiably suppressed. This would be a difficult interpretation, even if Homer had not explicitly opened the scene with the words οἱ δὲ ἀγορήνδε αὐτοῖς ἐπεσσεύοντο νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιαῖς (*Iliad* II. 207). Nilsson² thinks it certain that 'freedom of speech belonged to the nature of the institution,' but qualifies this opinion by supposing that in practice only the leaders of contingents spoke as representatives of their units. Now at Scheria it is plain that only σκηπτοῦχοι ἡγεῖτος ηδὲ μέδοντες had rights of debate. In this category Diomedes obviously falls, and it is not impossible that, even in the *Iliad*, the right of debate, which Thersites is clearly denied, was restricted to such.

It is possible to take this view of political assemblies and yet to agree with Professor Myres that in judicial assemblies an *amicus curiae* might volunteer a *dike*. But when in the course of his interesting and important discussion of the trial scene on the *Shield* he follows the suggestion of Zimmern that the fee to be given to this man is the lineal ancestor of Athenian *prytaneia*, it is not easy to concur. *πρυτανεῖα*, it is true, may have been earmarked for the payment of dikasts' fees, which is what he really has in mind. But the two talents of gold in Homer are explicitly a reward; the dikast's fee in theory and in practice was something quite different, a subsistence allowance.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

¹ A. C. Pearson, *Verbal Scholarship and the Growth of Some Abstract Terms*, Cambridge, 1922.

² M. P. Nilsson, *Das homerische Königtum*, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1927, p. 28.

DIÈS' AUTOEUR DE PLATON.

Autour de Platon, Essais de Critique et d'Histoire. Par A. DIÈS. Two vols. Pp. xvi + 615 (pagination continuous for the 2 vols.). Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1927.

M. Diès' two volumes are a most welcome addition to the ever-growing work of high quality on Plato put forth by French scholars. The part of the book to which most readers will probably turn first, the only part absolutely new, is the fourth 'book,'

with its four excellent chapters on (1) Plato's 'transposition' into a higher key of the theses of current rhetorical theory and current Orphicism and 'erotic'; (2) Plato's conception of science; (3) Plato's God; (4) Plato's religion. All these are issues of the first importance, and they are discussed by M. Diès in a way at once thoroughly scholarly and thoroughly fresh, with great fulness and with the characteristic subtlety and point of the best

French prose-writing. The three preceding 'books,' made up of reproductions of a long series of reviews and other short articles, deal successively with (1) the surroundings of the Platonic philosophy (Greek astronomy, anthropology, medicine in the fifth century and the early fourth; the influence of religion on ethics and philosophy generally; the connections between rhetoric and philosophy); (2) Socrates and the 'Socratic problem'; (3) the dialogues themselves. This is, in some ways, a miscellaneous collection, but serious Platonic students will be very thankful to the author for preserving in a readily accessible form so much excellent criticism which might have been lost to use if it had been allowed to remain dispersed over the journals of several years. I would specially commend the excellent historical account in Book I. of the 'Hippocratic problem' and the possible light thrown upon it by the famous allusion to Hippocrates in the *Phaedrus*. Another excellent piece of work is the very full and careful study of the multifarious phases assumed by the quest of modern students after the 'historical' Socrates (Book II.). One can only envy M. Diès his amazing knowledge of the literature of subjects like these. Perhaps, as one of the (may I say?) 'victims' of his kindly and gentle irony, I may be allowed to plead in my own defence that I do not feel myself to be 'killed dead,' as I gather M. Diès thinks I ought, by the criticisms of my friend Mr. W. D. Ross. Mr. Ross has shown, what I should never have dreamed of denying, that Aristotle made a distinction between the doctrine of Socrates and the teachings of Plato. But I fancy both Mr. Ross and M. Diès tend to confuse the distinction with a very different one—a distinction between the doctrine of Socrates and the things *Socrates* is made to teach in the *Phaedo* and other Platonic dialogues. This is the distinction of which, for my own part, I can find no trace in Aristotle.

There are a number of other points, among the many which M. Diès discusses in his illuminating way, where I suggest that some suspension of judg-

ment is advisable. Thus I cannot feel satisfied, as he does, that the reading he has unearthed from W in *Philebus* 66a is a final restoration of the true text of the most desperate 'crucial' passage in Plato. For the unintelligible *πάντα ὄπόσα χρὴ τοιαῦτα νομίζειν τὴν ἀλδίον ἡρῆσθαι* of B, W, according to M. Diès, exhibits, as a correction by the scribe or another, *τινὰ ἥδιον* in the place of *τὴν ἀλδίον*, and also has *τοιαῦτα χρὴ* for *χρὴ τοιαῦτα*. Hence M. Diès proposes to write the concluding words of the long sentence *καὶ πάντα ὄπόσα τοιαῦτα, χρὴ νομίζειν τινὰ ἥδιον ἡρῆσθαι*, and to render 'we must hold that a man (*τινὰ*) has made a preferable choice' if he gives the palm to *μέτρον* and 'everything of the kind' rather than to *ἥδονή*. One would be glad to feel that this is the solution of a bad puzzle, but I am afraid I do not feel it. About the adoption of *τοιαῦτα χρὴ* for *χρὴ τοιαῦτα* I have long been of the same mind as M. Diès, and I believe that he is therefore right about the grammar of a difficult sentence. But there is to my mind a fatal objection to *τινὰ ἥδιον* as a correction of *τὴν ἀλδίον*. *ἥδιον ἡρῆσθαι* does not mean, what the context would require it to mean, 'has made a better choice,' but 'has made a pleasanter choice.' I do not believe that Plato could have said, in a sentence the whole point of which is that there are many things more worthy of choice than *ἥδονή*, that the man who chooses these better things *ἥδιον ἔργαται*. In the end, as the *Laws* teach, no doubt, the choice of the man who does not put *ἥδονή* first actually brings in more enjoyment than the choice of the Hedonist. But that is not the point in our passage; the point is that he who chooses *τὸ μέτρον* chooses wisely and well. Hence I feel bound to fall back on the view, rejected by M. Diès, that the correction in W here is an emendation, an ingenious one reflecting great credit on its maker, but unfortunately, as the context shows, not the right one. I regret that regard for the space of the *Classical Review* prevents further comment on other points of interest in these delightful volumes.

A. E. TAYLOR.

VON ARNIM ON ARISTOTLE.

Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der aristotelischen Politik. Die drei aristotelischen Ethiken. Arius Didymus' Abriss der peripatetischen Ethik. By HANS VON ARNIM. Three parts. Pp. 130, 142, 161. Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1924-26. Paper. M. 3.30, 4.50, 5.

THE first two of these studies are inspired by Werner Jaeger's brilliant and stimulating work on Aristotle, published in 1923 (see *C.R.* XXXVIII. [1924], pp. 193 ff.), which has again turned attention to the discussion of the origin and development of the more important Aristotelian treatises.

In the first von Arnim deals with the composition of the *Politics*. In Jaeger's view ΒΓ and ΗΘ contain Aristotle's 'Urpolitik,' written at Assos under Platonic influence, the other four books being composed later, when he had modified his views after his researches into Greek constitutions.

According to von Arним, the oldest part of the *Politics* is A and Γ, of which A has been modified by the omission of the original conclusion and the addition of the discussion of *χρηματιστική*, and Γ by the omission of the discussion of Aristocracy as the best constitution. Both books show close connexion with Platonic views, and are earlier than Aristotle's return to Athens in 335/4 B.C. The second instalment, ΔΕΖ, was written after a long interval, during which his views underwent considerable change. Aristotle had now come to the conclusion that his original theory of the ideal state in Γ must be abandoned. B, which forms the third instalment, was written in 330 B.C. as an introduction to the discussion of the best form of constitution, but incorporates an earlier criticism of Plato's *Republic*. The last portion, ΗΘ, contains the unfinished treatise on the ideal state. The epilogue of the *Nicomachean Ethics* shows that Aristotle had intended to coordinate the whole work, but was unable to carry out his intention; hence the inconsistencies of the *Politics* as it has come down to us.

In the second study von Arnim deals with the question of the relations

between the three ethical treatises in the Aristotelian Corpus, and in particular with the date and genuineness of the *Magna Moralia*.

In Jaeger's view the *Eudemian Ethics* is the 'Urethik,' showing Platonic influence, being intermediate between the *Protrepticus* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and dating from about 345 B.C., while the *Magna Moralia* is a handbook composed by some later Peripatetic on the basis of the two other *Ethics*.

Von Arnim subjects the language, terminology, and doctrines of the *M.M.* to an elaborate analysis, which it is impossible even to summarise here, and concludes that a distinct development can be traced from the *M.M.* through the *E.E.* (which he regards as a genuine work, though not so early in date as Jaeger holds) to the *E.N.*, and that the *M.M.* is a genuine work of Aristotle and the earliest of his three ethical treatises.

While von Arnim's theory of the development of the *Politics* is interesting and deserves careful consideration, it seems unlikely that his view of the *M.M.* will supersede the current view that it is a compendium of Peripatetic Ethics of the late third or of the second century B.C.

The third study deals with the *Epitome of Peripatetic Ethics* by Arius Didymus, the teacher and friend of the Emperor Augustus. It forms part of his 'Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις,' dealing with the Logic, Physics, and Ethics of the four great schools of philosophy, which has been preserved to us by Stobaeus, the part dealing with Peripatetic Ethics being contained in *Eclog. II.*, pp. 116-152 (Wachsmuth).

Von Arnim divides the work into three parts: A. General Principles (pp. 116-128), B. on *ἀρετή* and the Virtues (pp. 128-147), C. on Economics and Politics (pp. 147-152). Part A., which has been usually held to contain the views of Antiochus—whose lectures at Athens Cicero attended (*de Fin.* V. 1)—represents, according to von Arnim, the doctrine of Theophrastus, and, in particular, is in close harmony with the fragment of Theophrastus *περὶ εὐσεβίας*. Part B. descends through Theo-

phrastus from what are, according to von Arnim, the two oldest Aristotelian *Ethics*, the *M.M.* and the *E.E.*; and Part C. descends similarly from the

Politics of Aristotle. The evidence which von Arnim adduces for the Theophrastan character of the whole work seems conclusive.

E. S. FORSTER.

BAILEY'S EPICURUS.

Epicurus : The Extant Remains. With Short Critical Apparatus, Translation and Notes. By CYRIL BAILEY, M.A. Pp. 432. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 21s. net.

WHAT Mr. Bailey here offers us in this welcome and long-expected book is primarily an edition, including text, translation, and commentary, of the three letters and the collection of maxims preserved in the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius. To this he naturally appends all maxims from the Vatican collection which do not duplicate the others. He follows Bignone in adding, further, to this material a selection of sayings from other sources, eighty-seven in number, nearly all of which are to be found in Usener's *Epicurea*. Lastly, he gives a text and translation, with a brief commentary, of Diogenes' *Life of Epicurus*.

With regard to the textual tradition, Mr. Bailey has nothing new to offer; he relies on the work of his predecessors, especially Usener (1887) and Von der Muehll (Teubner, 1922); and, indeed, on this side there seems to be little more to be done. But the problems of a very difficult text are by no means solved, and Mr. Bailey has used his judgment freely in choosing among the alternatives offered and in making conjectural alterations of his own. His general tendency, like that of all recent editors, is conservative. With the minimum of alteration he nearly always succeeds in producing a text which an unprejudiced reader, aided by the very lucid commentary, will find at least plausible. His own corrections are neat and judicious; perhaps the most striking is his *ἀπορρῆψις* (for *ἀπείρωψις*) in Ep. I., § 47; and an excellent instance of the special strength of his commentary is his treatment of Ep. II., § 98, a difficult passage about day and night, where he uses the Lucretian evidence with excellent effect to support an almost completely satisfactory restoration. On the

other hand, he takes a surprising liberty with the text (alone, I think, among recent editors) by transposing parts of §§ 46, 47, to §§ 61, 62. In this he is following Gassendi, but surely unwisely. The remains of the second book of Epicurus' *περὶ φύσεως*, discovered at Herculaneum, and published more than a hundred years ago, seem to make it certain that these sentences are in place where they originally stood. He also makes what seems to us a quite indefensible transference in Ep. II., § 88. All he does here is to move a relative clause to an earlier position in the complicated and corrupt sentence in which it stands. The sentence as a whole is a definition of *κόσμος*, and we agree with Usener in thinking that the clause which he moves is itself an independent and complete definition of *κόσμος*, and therefore probably an *additamentum*. In any case the grammatical results of the transference are deplorable, since a clause introduced by a masculine relative becomes an integral part of a predicate which is feminine both before and after it. We feel bound to register these two complaints; but in general we find Mr. Bailey's treatment of the text judicious and exemplary.

No one who has struggled with the difficulties of these Epicurean texts will be able to refuse a tribute of grateful appreciation to the commentary, which condenses with admirable brevity the thought and works of years on the interpretation of the Greek in close relation to the parallel version offered by Lucretius. Mr. Bailey faces every difficulty of interpretation and does his best to meet it. For those who want to know what Epicurus meant Mr. Bailey's edition will be in the future an invaluable aid. It is necessary, however, to call attention to the strict limitations of Mr. Bailey's achievement, not so much by way of criticism, as in order to remove a possible misapprehension.

When Usener published his *Epicurea* in 1887, he expressly admitted and apologised for the fact that it was not a complete statement of the evidence. For various reasons he was not able to make full use of the treasures of Herculaneum, and in particular he did not venture to touch the fragments of the *περὶ φύσεως* of Epicurus, of which considerable specimens had already been published by Gomperz and other scholars. To-day, forty years later, our editors, Bignone in Italy and now Bailey in England, repeat the *non possimus*. Mr. Bailey does not even cite the published fragments, where relevant, in his Commentary. But, further, during these forty years a succession of German and Italian scholars, many of whose names occur in Mr. Bailey's pages, have been busily at work on the library of Herculaneum. Their work is fragmentary, scattered, laborious, difficult to assess or sum up. Much of it contributes little, through no fault of theirs, to the understanding of Epicureanism. But this large and growing body of work is not without its solid results. It will one day flower, no doubt, into that edition of the *περὶ φύσεως* for which we have so long in vain waited. But even now a treatment of the 'Extant Writings' of Epicurus, which refuses to come to terms with these enquiries, confesses itself in an important sense out-of-date and incomplete.

On this side Mr. Bailey's commentary is a misleading guide, partly because it does not warn the student of its limits, and partly because in the nature of the case it is bound to cross these limits at times, and it crosses them with inadequate information as to the territory which lies beyond. The best way of explaining this would be to go through all Mr. Bailey's citations from the *Volumina Herculaneensia* seriatim. Since this is out of the question, let us select one or two points. In the first place, Mr. Bailey has no standard method of citing these volumes and gives no explanation of what they are. Secondly, he frequently cites from them when he should cite from a modern edition of the papyrus in question. E. g. the passage cited on p. 349 in comment on *Sent.* 3 is from pap. 1012, which Crönert proved

to be by Demetrius Lacon, whose works have been recently edited by De Falco (Naples, 1923). Bailey's *fr.* 83 (p. 138) is from the same papyrus. On p. 344 n. 3 there is a reference to 'Vol. *Herc.* col. xv,' which is meaningless. In the App. Crit. to p. 129, 'Vol. *Herc.* 176' should be 'Pap. *Herc.* 176.' *Fr.* 56 on p. 134 has been shown to belong to Hermarchus, not Epicurus, and should be cited as from Philodemus, *περὶ θεῶν* III. (ed. Diels, 1917). These, of course, like others that could be cited, are all small points, and comparatively unimportant: but they show clearly that Mr. Bailey has not made any systematic use of the evidence furnished by Herculaneum.¹ The danger is that students may be led by his example to think that this evidence may safely be neglected. As against that possible misapprehension it seems advisable to record our opinion that if any important advance is to be made in our knowledge of Epicureanism beyond the present stage, Herculaneum must be its starting-point and base. Mr. Bailey expresses in his Preface the hope that he has 'at least . . . made it clear where the problems lie and what are the data for their solution.' We submit, with respect, that on this side he has not fully succeeded in his aim.

A reviewer inevitably stresses points of disagreement, hoping for a judicious reader in whose mind the true perspective will be restored. Those who are given much will always tend to ask for more. It is certainly much that Mr. Bailey has given us. He has given us the first English edition of an exceptionally interesting and difficult text, and this not as a hurried attempt to fill a gap but as the carefully pondered result of years of study. And if we ask for more, our petition is not that he should change his course or start afresh from Hercu-

¹ An instance of another kind may be added. On Ep. II. 84 (p. 276) Mr. Bailey says that διαλογισμός, with its correlates, is not an Epicurean word. In saying this he apparently overlooks διαλογισμὰ in Ep. I. 68, and διαλογισμοῖς in *Sent. Vat.* 10 (= Metrod. *fr.* 37). Cf. also *Epicurea*, *fr.* 138. We have also noted six instances in Philodemus and one in another Epicurean tract from Herculaneum.

May I also add a note of two misprints? P. 130, *fr.* 38, 'φρονίδα' for 'φροντίδα.' P. 268, l. 12 from foot, 'aimed' for 'arrived.'

laneum ; only that he shall follow further the path he has marked out for himself, and give us as soon as possible the 'volume of critical essays on the system of Epicurus' which he promises in his

Preface. The only continuous discussion of any length which Mr. Bailey allows himself in his Commentary (on ἐπιθολὴ τῆς διανοίας) leads one to expect much light from these.

J. L. STOCKS.

REYMOND ON ANCIENT SCIENCE.

History of the Sciences in Greco-Roman Antiquity. By ARNOLD REYMOND, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Lausanne. Translated by RUTH GHEURY DE BRAY. Pp. x + 245. 40 diagrams. London : Methuen and Co., 1927. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is a popular sketch of Greek and Roman mathematics and science very much after the type of Heiberg's *Naturwissenschaften und Mathematik im klassischen Altertum* recently translated into English ; it is brightly and well written, and should be attractive to intelligent amateurs who are interested in Greek mathematics and science. The book is in two parts, the first of which gives a historical outline, and the second an account of the principles and methods. The second part sets out in greater detail the actual achievements of the ancients in mathematics, mechanics and physics, astronomy, chemistry and other natural sciences. Prefixed is an introduction dealing with what is known of Egyptian and Babylonian mathematics, astronomy, etc. While the modern authorities quoted (chiefly French) are not always quite up to date, the author has a good grip of the subject and a proper appreciation of the essentials ; as witness the following remarks about the relation of Greek science to what the Greeks owed to, or could have learnt from, earlier civilisations : 'But it seems probable that the characteristic rationalism of Greek science is proper ["peculiar" would no doubt have been a better translation] to this science ; in regard to [i.e., in comparison with] the empirical and fragmentary knowledge of the East, it constitutes a veritable miracle. For the first time, the human mind conceived the possibility of establishing a limited number of principles and of deducing from them a number of truths which are their strict consequence. This achievement, without analogy in the

history of humanity, is all the more astonishing because Greek science, in its first beginnings, had a precarious existence. Not having any influence upon economic life, it could only exist within the schools of philosophy, whose lot and vicissitudes it shared.'

The translation into English seems to be well done, though there are a few slips where it is probably the translation that is at fault, e.g., where it is said of Thales that 'one year, foreseeing an abundant harvest, he rented all the olive trees and thus made a good profit.' Again, *κακοτεχνίη* stated by Diogenes Laertius to have been charged (along with *πολυμαθείη*) against Pythagoras by Heraclitus can hardly mean 'art of wickedness' (Diels has 'Künstelei') ; Phlius is printed 'Phlias' and Philponus in French as 'Philipon.' There are some terrible misprints in the few Greek expressions quoted. On the analogy of 'maxima debetur pueris reverentia,' the reader unacquainted with Greek should have been spared the struggle with *πάνιαρέι* as the root-principle of Heraclitus, *σώζειν τὰ φαντα μενα* as the aim of Greek astronomers, and *ἡμεγίστη* as the Greek original which the Arabs turned into 'Almagest.' It is misleading to write that 'Theophrastus has left us a very valuable book containing the opinions of the ancient natural philosophers' (p. 63)—as if the *φυσικαὶ δόξαι* had survived entire. More serious are some mis-statements of fact. On p. 158 we have descriptions of Euclid's ways of proving his propositions I. 5 and I. 29, which have no resemblance whatever to the actual proofs given by Euclid. On the same page we are told that 'it is thus that Euclid demonstrates the following fact,' the 'following fact' being a proposition which does not occur in Euclid at all. The description (on p. 3) of the Egyptian methods of multiplication and division is quite

inadequate, and may easily convey a wrong impression or no impression; while the statement (p. 80) that the Heronian formula for the area of a triangle in terms of its sides,

$$\Delta = \sqrt{p(p-a)(p-b)(p-c)},$$

'was probably used by the Egyptian

land-surveyors' is quite gratuitous and has nothing to support it.

I have confined myself to the mathematics because mathematics and astronomy occupy all but a small fraction of the book. The other sciences, and medicine in particular, are less adequately treated.

T. L. HEATH.

MAHLOW'S NEUE WEGE.

Neue Wege durch die griechische Sprache und Dichtung. Sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchungen von GEORG H. MAHLOW, ehem. Direktor des Humboldtgymnasiums zu Berlin. Pp. viii + 525. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1926. M. 22; bound, M. 25.

THE current opinion about the development of *ā* in Attic is that it has become *η* except after *ε*, *ι* and *ρ*, in which positions the development to *η* has been checked and there has been a return to *ā*. This is put forward as a 'sound-law' and an effort is made to provide special explanations of certain particular cases (such as *κρίνη*) which might seem to contradict it. The author of *Neue Wege* (who is well known as the author of *Die langen Vocale A E O in den europäischen Sprachen*) has submitted this opinion to a searching criticism. The admitted exceptions are examined, the explanations hitherto offered are found to be unsatisfactory, and many other exceptions, which have hitherto been passed over in silence, are enumerated. He concludes that the alleged sound-law is no sound-law, since it has a number of real exceptions. On the positive side he decides that Attic is a mixed dialect composed of an *ā*-speech and an *ē*-speech, in other respects identical with one another. The product of this mixture had in each particular case a choice between *ā* and *η*. The determination of the choice on the one side or the other resulted in a rule (*eine Regel*), viz., *ā* after *ε* *ι* *ρ*, *η* elsewhere, with exceptions on both sides. The genesis of the rule is to be sought in one or other (or both) of two directions: one of these is the mysterious way that a language has of creating out of itself an approximation to regularity, by reject-

ing more or less completely whatever does not conform; the other is the influence of individual users of the language, such as famous orators or others (grammarians, etc.) whose verdict on questions of diction carried weight.

The *ā*- and *ē*-speeches which by their mixture gave rise not only to the Attic but also (it is argued) to the other dialects, themselves originated when the Indo-European invaders of the Balkan peninsula and the islands and Asiatic coasts found already there a non-Indo-European population with a highly developed civilisation. The invaders brought with them the *ā* dialect. When the autochthones adopted this they tended to substitute *ē* for *ā*, having no *ā* in their own language.

From this point of view the author of *Neue Wege* re-examines the literary dialects of Greece. He holds that the language of tragedy, including the lyrics, is pure, though archaising, Attic, and that both Solon and Xenophon wrote pure Attic. Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, Pindar, Theognis wrote each in the dialect in which he was accustomed to speak, sometimes exercising a poet's right to prefer the more archaic of two alternative forms, or dropping forms which might have displeased a pan-Hellenic audience. Homer, he believes, wrote in a single dialect which did not contain a single Aeolic or Attic form. He points out that the features which have been selected by grammarians as distinguishing marks of particular dialects are in many cases survivals. Where the old language had a number of alternatives at its disposal, each dialect retained one and dropped the rest. In view of the early date of the Homeric language we must expect to find in it many features, once present in all or most dialects, which were later

selected for retention only by particular dialects, Aeolic or non-Aeolic.

It is hardly possible within the limits of this review to indicate sufficiently the main argument of the book, still less to give an idea of the learning and acumen with which it is developed.

Even if here and there the book provokes dissent, it cannot be denied that many facts which have hitherto been very difficult to understand become, from this new point of view, very easy. It is a work which serious students of Greek cannot afford to neglect.

R. MCKENZIE.

PRIMITIVE CULTURE IN ITALY.

Primitive Culture in Italy. By H. J. ROSE, M.A. Pp. 253. 8vo. London : Methuen and Co., 1926. 7s. 6d.

IT is some forty years since Andrew Lang startled a world of conservative scholars by suggesting that the Greeks in the heyday of their richest art and civilisation retained rites and ceremonies inherited from a past as uncultivated as that of the Australian aborigines. Professor Rose in his *Primitive Culture in Greece* has carried this idea much further, employing all the improved technique of a later generation, which has the advantage of a wider range of anthropology as well as of several fundamental treatises on early religion. His *Primitive Culture in Italy* is conceived on the same lines and aims at showing that the religion, law, and social organisation of the Italians, in the days of the Republic and even of the Empire, retained many traces and fossilised remains of a state of society which must be inferred to have existed in its completeness fully a thousand years before.

Professor Rose handles his subject with a very sure hand, and shows throughout the most complete mastery of his implements. His use of the scanty archaeological evidence is no less dexterous than his analysis of obscure texts; and the resulting conclusions are expressed in a style so simple and direct that the immense labour underlying them might almost escape the notice of an inexperienced reader. The introductory chapter outlines the main workings of the savage mind and suggests the nature of *mana*, a sort of electricity in the spiritual atmosphere, as the key to his religious thought and practice. From this the author passes to a review of the little that is known as to the several races and cultures found in

Italy from the Stone Age onwards. He excludes from his treatment everything that is due to Greek or Etruscan, as being of foreign importation, and tries to get down to the rock-bed of the uncontaminated Italian. This, of course, is a much wider term than the merely Roman ; it includes several individual elements, in more or less distinct strata, which are perceptible even as early as a thousand years before Christ.

These questions of 'race, religion, and culture' lead up to a chapter on the gods, which is a masterpiece of brief exposition, worthy of a pupil of Warde Fowler, to whom the volume is very appropriately dedicated. The author brings out clearly in a few paragraphs the curiously episodical character of the Italian deities, who are 'not so much gods as particular manifestations of *mana*.' Such are the destroying fire, the striking weapon, the fever (I should like to question its being malarial fever), or the rust in the wheat. These are contrasted with the very different gods of the classical authors, all borrowed from the Greek. 'The Roman cult was essentially polydaimonism.' As an explanation of the forms of worship and sacrifice it is shown that the Romans could and did bargain with their gods, and expect them to honour the contract. Incidentally here and in many other places the editor of Plutarch's 'Roman Questions' makes good use of his own earlier work. Two chapters on 'Worship and Magic' explain the origin and use of such terms as *lustratio*, *ambarvalia*, *carmina*—whence we derive the word 'charms'—as well as the significance of the *Equirria*, *agonium Martiale*, *tubilustrum*, and other ceremonies associated with the seasonal activities of agriculture and war. A chapter on 'tabus, priests and kings' contains many interesting

remarks about the flamen, and it is to be noted that Professor Rose is not a convert to the theory of priest-kings in Italy. Births and marriages with their several rites are treated under the heading of 'exits and entrances,' suggested by Van Gennep's 'Rites de Passage'; the same chapter has a valuable dissertation on the meaning of 'genius.' At every step the discussions are illustrated by apt references to the beliefs and customs of savage peoples, ranging from Ashanti to New Guinea. Wisely avoiding an excessive multiplication of instances the author cites enough to substantiate his thesis that 'that great people who taught the rest of Europe what codes and statutes meant had in its early days to pass through a state very like that of the savage in regard to law.' The three chapters dealing respectively with 'Family and Clan,' 'Crimes and Torts,' 'Property, Public Opinion, and Status,' cover ground which is rather more familiar to most students, but bring out some valuable details, notably in regard to the punishment of parricides. The use of public opinion is amusingly demonstrated from a provision of the Twelve Tables, according to which a suitor who could not bring witnesses to prove a debt had the privilege of going

every day to his alleged debtor's door and howling at him.

In his concluding chapter the author emphasises some 'negative considerations,' such as the absence of any indigenous art or literature or philosophy, no less than the backward character of trade and industry, as showing that the early Italians, apart from Greek or Etruscan influence, were far from being a fully civilised people. As a broad generalisation this conclusion seems to be justified, though a slight mitigation of the judgment may be urged by the archæologist, who sees new evidence constantly appearing of a material culture higher than has hitherto been suspected. The little-known peoples of the east coast, Picenes and Apulians, are beginning to appear as important factors with a remarkable amount of character and originality. But we can hardly hope to recover much knowledge of their beliefs or social organisation, so that Professor Rose's judgment cannot be seriously challenged on this ground. Perhaps, however, some evidence may be adduced that trade was more important and more highly organised in the native Italian communities than his statement would suggest.

D. RANDALL-MACIVER.

A FRENCH COMMENTARY ON LUCRETIUS

Lucrèce : De Rerum Natura. Commentaire exégétique et critique. Tome premier. Livres I. et II. Par ALFRED ERNOUT ET LÉON ROBIN. Pp. cxxiii + 369. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925.¹

M. ERNOUT has already given us his text and translation of Lucretius, and it might perhaps have been thought that there was hardly room for another full commentary. But this first instalment (Books I. and II.) fully justifies itself. Both M. Ernout and his colleague, Professor Robin, who joins him in the commentary, have a specific contribution to make, and the result is undoubtedly an addition to our knowledge and understanding of Lucretius. M. Ernout's main interest, as he had

already shown in his earlier edition of Book IV., is philological, grammatical, and linguistic; M. Robin's is in the history and exegesis of Greek philosophy; on both these sides the present edition contains interesting and important work.

The Introduction (by M. Ernout) is mainly concerned with the style and language of Lucretius, and besides gathering together much interesting material it has some original suggestions. He notices, for instance, that such licences as the use of the genitive singular in *-ai*, and the genitive plural of the second declension in *-um*, occur almost entirely in passages which are archaic and epic in tone, and that the suppression of the final *s* appears mainly in 'forced prosodies' in the awkward places at the end of the line: these are evidences of deliberate archaism on the

¹ The reviewer is not responsible for the delay in the appearance of this review.—Edd. C.R.

poet's part. The section on language, M. Ernout's speciality, is of great value, that on Lucretius' metrical system interesting, but it does not touch the problem, which is surely of first-class importance for the understanding of Lucretius' metre, of the relation of scansion by quantity to the stress-accent.

The Introduction is followed by a translation by M. Ernout of the three letters and *Kύριαι Δόξαι* of Epicurus with a few critical notes in places where he differs from Usener. This is a valuable feature, and illustrates the modern tendency of all critics of Lucretius to get back to Epicurus. As regards the text, I note with pleasure that M. Ernout has hit upon *ἰσχύον τι*, as I had myself, in § 41: in § 66, *ἐγκαταχεομένων* for the MS. *ἐγκατεχομένων* is a valuable suggestion, and so is *<εν> αὐτοῖς* in a difficult passage in § 68. The translation is free, it splits up sentences, and paraphrases a good deal, so that at times it is hardly accurate, and at others very difficult to understand without explanatory notes. But it is doubtless intended primarily to convey the general sense to a French reader, and in this it succeeds admirably: it is certainly far more graceful and less crabbed than the original Greek. M. Ernout has made considerable use of von der Mühl's text, but in my view not enough of the work of the Italians, of Giussani, and in particular of Bignone.

The Commentary itself certainly makes a substantial contribution to the criticism of Lucretius, and presents some new features. M. Robin, in his philosophical notes, brings to bear on Lucretius a knowledge not only of Epicurus and the earlier atomists, but of the general trend of Greek scientific speculation from Thales to the Stoics. His notes, which are wonderfully succinct and lucid, are therefore nearly always illuminating: specially worthy of study are those on the conception of the void (I. 329), on the theory of *ἀντιπερίστασις* (I. 372), on the relation of the Stoics to Heraclitus (I. 635), on the vexed question of 'weight' in the system of Democritus (II. 83), on the *clinamen* (II. 216), and on *ἐπιβολὴ τῆς*

διανοίας (= *animi injectus*, II. 739), though in the last M. Robin seems to me hardly to realise distinctly enough the parallel Epicurean conception of the *ἐπιβολὴ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων*. I should, however, doubt his view that *sensus communis* (I. 422) is equivalent to 'touch,' nor in I. 449 is it easy after his *coniuncta duabus rebus* (sc. the atoms and the void) to believe that Lucretius was thinking primarily of compound bodies, or to accept the position that in reference to the void the distinction between *coniuncta* and *eventa* would be meaningless.

M. Ernout, who is responsible for the great bulk of the notes, has thrown a flood of light on matters philological, linguistic, and metrical: one might cite as specimens the notes on *daedala* (I. 7), *dias* (I. 22), substantives in *-men* (I. 284), *tempore puncto* (II. 263), which he takes to mean 'in time considered as a point,' and on *caeruleum* = lapis lazuli, which the editor preserves as against the common emendation *curalium* in II. 805. The weak point in the commentary seems to me to be that certain departments of criticism—notably that of the text and the elucidation of difficult passages—slip between the two editors. M. Ernout has no doubt in the critical apparatus to his edition of the text already given us some brief indications of his preferences. But in the commentary his procedure seems rather arbitrary: sometimes there is a full discussion of a textual difficulty, sometimes a rather high-handed assumption of the superiority of the reading of his choice (e.g., *crescentes*, I. 190), sometimes—and this is perhaps the most serious deficiency—no discussion at all of a well-known textual difficulty (e.g., I. 404, *ferai* or *ferarum*; I. 433, *aliquid* or *aliquo*, and the order of the lines; II. 289, *mens* or *res*; II. 42-43, where the famous *cruces* can hardly be dismissed with the statement that O writes the lines in red and Q omits them). Similarly, there are passages which do not by any philosophical difficulty involve the intervention of M. Robin, but do require interpretation and have been very variously taken, on which M. Ernout is silent. Such are I. 551 ff., a passage

which Giussani has done much to illuminate; II. 167, *ignari materiai*; II. 454-5, a very difficult place: what does M. Ernout take to be the meaning of *papaveris haustus*?

It may be worth while to note a few misprints in an excellently produced volume: p. 8, *πόντον πλά* (*πλάκα*); p. 86, *Lucretium* for *Lucretius*; p. 112, *intatile* (*intactile*); p. 143, *pro diuom corpora* (for *numina*) *sacra*; p. 270,

quea (quae); p. 279, *Murno (Munro)*; p. 348, *sunt (sint)*; p. 350, *achèvement*.

I have called attention to what seem to me some blemishes, but should like to say, in conclusion, that the edition is of real value. M. Ernout and M. Robin have shown that in spite of all that has been done there was more to be said about Lucretius, and they have said it well. We shall look forward to the later volumes. CYRIL BAILEY.

DESSAU'S HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit. Von HERMANN DESSAU. Zweiter Band, erste Abteilung. Die Kaiser von Tiberius bis Vitellius. Pp. viii + 400. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926. 14 M.

THIS half-volume carries the history down to the end of A.D. 69. The second part of Vol. II. (which is in the press) will review the condition of Italy and the provinces during the first century of the Empire, and two further volumes will continue the narrative down to the Council of Nicæa. A preface is now supplied: the author's purpose is to meet a widespread demand for an up-to-date history, and his aim is to set forth clearly what is known, implicitly or explicitly rejecting erroneous statements which may be recommended by the name or standing of their authors, or may dazzle by their boldness. Such a critical attitude is needed at the present time. In reviewing Vol. I. (C.R. XXXVIII. 190 ff.), we spoke of the disappointingly sparing use of references: the preface explains that they are given only when the sources lie off the track, or have recently come to light, or for other reasons may not be generally known. In the present half-volume this rule does not seem to be strictly observed, but the reader will be the better pleased: on the whole the documentation is adequate, and room is found for the criticism of views which are doubted or rejected.

Prudent conservatism, scholarly accuracy, and balanced judgment combine to give Dessau's exposition an enduring value. As space is severely limited, we can only review some of its more interesting features. No brief is held for

Tiberius as monarch: despite extenuating circumstances, he is a sinister figure; and in this connexion (as in others) Tacitus is warmly defended, although certain defects are admitted, and especially one noted by Boissier, that of yielding to the desire for effect, particularly at the close of sections, a defect born of the practice of giving public readings before publication. This is how we should regard the notorious parting summary of Tiberius' character—a view which is surely nearer the truth than that which sees in it Tacitus' 'most deliberate judgment on Tiberius.' That Caligula was no madman Dessau rightly insists, but he accepts the traditional account of his expedition to the North, with only a trifling discount which does not include the tale about the prisoners: yet the repetition of the story in the case of Domitian hardly adds credibility to it. Claudius, it seems to us, gets less than justice. Great reluctance is shown to give him credit for anything. The new harbour at Ostia was probably not his idea, though it is admitted that he took a special interest in it (pp. 154, 187). The invasion of Britain was certainly due to his advisers, who saw that their helpless chief must win some military glory and secure the loyalty of the army. Such glory could be won cheaply in Britain, but there was no inclination to venture on an aggressive policy where it would have been justifiable: Corbulo was recalled from beyond the Rhine, and thereby 'a wrong was done to a distinguished man' (p. 190). One feature of the reign, the promotion of Romanisation, it would not be easy to ascribe to the influence of others; but it was not

difficult to advance along the lines indicated by Augustus, 'die Eigenart des Kaisers, seine persönliche Schwäche und seine Schrullen, haben hier nicht gestört.' One feels that Dessau has been too much influenced by the extant speech about the Gallic chiefs. 'Da sehen wir den Mann, wie er leibt und lebt': this silly speech is a self-revelation which justifies the picture of Tacitus, and who will blame the historian for disdaining to reproduce it even in abstract? No doubt it was a poor effort, but we should not forget that we do not possess the historian's account of Claudius' earlier years, and that Tacitus himself says: *nec in Claudio quotiens meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres.* Moreover, it is admitted in an Addendum (p. 400) that the recently discovered Letter of the Emperor cannot be convicted of anything worse than 'eine bedenkliche Neigung zur Geschwätzigkeit.' In any case, a man may be a poor stylist without being an absolute fool. Another marked feature of the reign, the development of bureaucracy, deserves a fuller account than it receives.

A long chapter on Nero contains a good deal that merits attention. Seneca is, with good reason, torn down from the pedestal of saintliness on which his fine moral sermons have led so many to set him: the unknown admirer who joined his bust with that of Socrates was placing the impure side by side with the pure. The first conflict between Christianity and the government had no direct consequences; the next collisions, some decades later, were of an essentially different kind. On this subject we must await the fuller exposi-

tion which the next volume will doubtless contain; but Dessau is, we think, right in disbelieving Ed. Meyer's view that the government of the time appreciated the peculiar character of the Christian religion and its danger to the State. About Nero's *Orientpolitik* we have recently been hearing, perhaps, more than enough: Dessau declines to take his sudden plans of conquest very seriously, and scorns the notion that the mantle of Alexander had fallen on him. Our old friend the *quinquennium* appears in his old garb, with the comment that Trajan's judgment need not be decisive for us; but the judgment is incompletely, and therefore incorrectly, reported.

The events leading to, and following on, Nero's fall are well described. The theory of 'The Last Battle of the Roman Republic' is rightly rejected. In the military narrative of Tacitus' *Histories* there are few faults to be found, though in a couple of places errors are reproduced from his sources. One of them is the statement about the *confluentes Padi et Aduae*, which is 'obviously a misconception': Hardy's correction *Adrae* is not approved, and it certainly seems unlikely that a junction on the south side of the Po could be fixed as the objective. It may be added that reasons are given for doubting the correctness of Mattingly's 'brilliant conjecture' that the unique denarius with the legends *Legion. XV. Primig.* and *Adsertor Libertatis* is a memorial of the fall of Vetera.

We have noticed some typographical errors and one or two small slips which need not be enumerated.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

THREE BOOKS ON SYNTAX.

Système de la Syntaxe Latine. By A. C. JURET. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg.) Pp. 1-428. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres' (London: Milford), 1926. Paper, 10s. 6d. net.

Syntaxe Latine. Par O. RIEMANN. Seventh edition, revised by A. ERNOUT. Pp. 1-697. Paris: Klincksieck, 1927. Cloth, 36 fr.

Studi sul Significato Fondamentale dell'

Accusativo. By M. BARONE. Pp. 1-140. Rome: Befani, 1926. Paper, 20 lire.

IT would be difficult to conceive a more bewildering method of treatment of a language than that of M. Juret. The book has three main sections: (1) Expression de l'affirmation, (2) détermination de l'affirmation, (3) propositions déterminant l'affirmation; and this psychological or metaphysical

classification is developed in an interminable series of sub- and sub-sub-divisions. So much space is required for 'système' that comparatively little is left for 'syntax'; the mere 'table des matières' occupies twenty closely-printed pages. And all this elaborate machinery throws comparatively little light on Latin itself: it is a scheme of thought and expression into which, without serious alteration, might be fitted the analysis of almost any highly developed language. It is, perhaps, only to be expected that the application of this intricate 'système' should be mechanical: at times it is unbelievably so. P. 43, side by side with the familiar *fuimus Troes*, as an example of the perfect, 'indiquant que cet état n'existe plus,' we find *hae permanerunt aquae dies complures* (Caes. *B. Civ.* I. 50 § 1). Caesar apparently wishes to assure his readers that they need not hesitate to visit Ilerda, as the rain has stopped! And in the same paragraph is quoted, as illustrating the two forms of 'perfect passive'—viz., with 'sum' and 'fui'—*omnia quae sunt conclusa nunc artibus, dispersa et dissipata quondam fuerunt* (Cic. *De Or.* I. 187): are either of these 'perfect passives' in any reasonable sense of the term?

P. 72. Side by side with perfect participle passive, future participle active and gerundive as predicates with *sum*, is given this example of a present participle—*ea quae conservantia sunt huius status* (Cic. *Fin.* III. 5. 16), *conservantia*, as the dependent genitive shows, is logically and grammatically an adjective.

Pp. 96-99. Three whole pages are devoted to *se* and *suis*; they contain not a little loose thinking, or loose expression—e.g., p. 99: 'Quoique, dans une subordonnée qui exprime la pensée du sujet de la principale, le réfléchi puisse toujours renvoyer au sujet de la subordonnée, quelquefois il y est remplacé par *is*, sans doute afin d'éviter une équivoque possible'; e.g., *Helvetii persuadent Rauracis uti una cum iis proficiscantur*. Here one observes (1) that *iis* refers to subject of principal clause, so that the example does not illustrate the rule; (2) that no ambiguity is possible; (3) that *iis* does not lessen any possible ambiguity; (4) the real explanation of

iis—viz., that an intervening ablative absolute has shifted the point of view from the *Helvetii* to the *Rauraci*—is concealed by the shortening of the quotation. The real 'inwardness,' the psychology, of *se* and *suis* is sacrificed to a barren and meaningless classification. M. Juret translates *Paetus omnes libros quos frater suis reliquisset mihi donavit* by 'tous les livres qu'il pensait que son frère lui avait laissés!' Surely both *suis* and *reliquisset* make it *Paetus'* definition of the gift, not Cicero's. No room is found in this section for the compound adjective *suis quisque*, as in Virg. *Ecl.* VII. 54: *strata iacent passim sua quaeque sub arbore poma*.

P. 233. 'De + ablative,' as a variant of the instrumental ablative, has a paragraph to itself—e.g., *sua de materia grandescere* (Lucr. I. 191); then, in a separate group, *non-classiques*—*praebere cibum proprio de corpore* (Lucr. III. 991). What connexion has either of these with an instrumental ablative, and why, if Lucr. I. is classical, is Lucr. III. non-classical?

P. 316. *Quod castra movisset, factum inopia papuli* (Caes. *B.G.* VII. 20) occurs among a group of 'quod + indicative' clauses without any indication that *factum* stands for *factum esse* (O.O.).

P. 342. *Circumfunduntur hostes, si quem aditum reperire possent* (Caes. *B.G.* VI. 37) is not classed with *exspectabam si quid scriberes* (Cic. *Att.* XVI. 2. 4) of the preceding paragraph, but with *neque Herculi quisquam decumam vovit unquam, si sapiens factus esset* (Cic. *N.D.* III. 88), which is surely a very thinly disguised O.O. construction.

P. 345. *Quasi vero tu sis ab illis, Sallusti, ortus: quod si esses, non nullos iam tuae turpitudinis pigeret* (Sallust: attributed to Cicero): 'l'opposition entre *quasi* + subj. parfait et *quod si esses* montre que *quasi* avec le subj. présent ou parfait n'exprime pas l'irréel, mais s'y oppose.' Is *sis . . . ortus* a perfect subjunctive, and does not *quod si esses* following *quasi . . . sis* show rather the opposite of what M. Juret suggests? Here, again, he makes no attempt to account for the use of present subjunctive with 'quasi,' which, though regular, is a surprising idiom.

P. 372. In the discussion of *cum* causal with indicative no mention is made of the colloquial *cum* with indicative after such verbs as *laudo*, *gaudeo*, *gratulor*.

P. 375. Examples are given of *dum* and *donec* with subjunctive 'exprimant une circonstance explicative': *dum se rex totus avertisset, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit* (Liv. I. 40. 7) [here, if the reading is sound, *dum* must imply 'waiting until']; *illa dum te fugeret praeceps, hydram non vidit* (Virg. *Georg.* IV. 457) [where *dum* must mean 'in her effort to escape']. The only use of *dum* that can properly be called 'causal' is with the present indicative. No suggestion is made that *dum*, with the subjunctive, expresses a time calculation in the mind of the subject of the sentence, not of the writer. Again the classification is mechanical, with no attempt at logical analysis.

Diligence and learning are self-evident in this book, but appreciative judgment is sadly to seek.

Riemann's *Syntaxe Latine*, originally published in 1886, went through two editions under his own hand; the next four, 1894-1920, were revised by Paul Lejay. This is the first revision under the hand of the present editor. The additions and modifications in this edition are very slight—an occasional 'aside,' strengthening or modifying the expression of a rule; thus, on p. 223, the suggestion is made that the gradual replacement of deponent by active forms of the same verb had its origin in popular speech. P. 397, Remarque IV.: A short paragraph is inserted discussing conditional sentences in which tense or mood are not in harmony as between principal and subordinate clause. It is amazing if the subject was not touched on in an earlier edition, and equally amazing that half a page should be considered adequate. Nor is the new editor very felicitous here—e.g., Virg. *Georg.* 4. 116, *ni iam . . . vela traham . . . forsitan et canerem*. The present subjunctive *traham* is explained as emphasising the actuality of *traho*; but surely the very way to emphasise the actuality of *traho* is to say *ni traherem*. Equally questionable in the same paragraph is the analysis of Cic. *Div.* II. 22, *an Cn.*

Pompeium censes laetaturum fuisse, si sciret se trucidatum iri: scisset, he says, 'indiquerait qu'il avait su et qu'il ne savait pas.' Here a terrible confusion is admitted by the disregard of the negative (*non sciebat*) implied in *si sciret*: *si scisset* would imply *nesciit*, *si sciret* implies *nesciebat*—a 'state of mind' in the past as contrasted with a 'past act.' This Grammar of Riemann's is one of the few that draw attention to a very interesting use of the imperfect indicative, that many must have observed in their reading, to express 'what was bound to happen' or 'likely to happen': Cic. *Pro Milone* 32, *Milone interfecto Clodius haec assequebatur* (= 'stood to gain'); Livy, 21. 5. 3, *quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur* (an attack on Saguntum meant war with Rome). So in Greek, Eur. *Heracl.* 1004: *τοιαῦτα δρῶντι τάπ' ἔγιγνετ' ἀσφαλῆ* (= 'seemed likely to be secured'). Riemann is quite sound on the use of the indicative of *possum*, *debeo*, in the principal clause of a conditional sentence whose *si* clause is in the subjunctive, but neither here nor in his larger *Comparative Syntax of Greek and Latin* does he make it quite clear that the imperfect of these verbs, like *ἔδει*, *εἰκὸς ήν* and the like in Greek, may and often does refer to 'an unfulfilled duty in the present.' It seems very doubtful whether he recognises this idiom, for in his *Comparative Syntax* (p. 302) he quotes next to each other: Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* III. 79, *debebant illi quidem omnes bonos efficere, si quidem hominum generi consulebant* (which clearly refers to the past, as *si consulebant* shows); and Cic. *De Div.* II. 91, *oculorum fallacissimo sensu iudicant ea, quae ratione atque animo videre debebant* (which equally clearly refers to the present). The edition is a model of clearness in arrangement, exposition, and printing.

The author of the third treatise follows the French scholar Bréal in defining the fundamental use of the accusative in Greek and Latin as the expression of 'motion towards.' By 'fundamental' he is careful to observe that he does not mean 'logically essential,' but 'historically primary.' To illustrate his method of accounting for the other uses of the accusative, one example will suffice—

the accusative of the direct object. Here the process is simple: expand 'movement' into 'activity' and you have your 'accusative of the object' as the 'immediate direction of the verbal

action.' The exposition of the theory is temperate and well-reasoned; but so many of these propositions look almost as well the other way round.

H. WILLIAMSON.

The Twilight of History. By D. G. HOGARTH. Pp. 19. London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. 1s.

THE author of this pamphlet with his customary eloquence suggests that we are doing our records an injustice when we believe that the fall of the Mycenaean world was followed by a period of barbarism and decay of culture. Instead of the Dark Ages he would have us call this period a 'Twilight,' by which he means the half-light before the dawn. He elaborates the theory that the artist class fades and the artisan class flourishes in all periods of democratic revival that follow the expulsion or fall of dynasties and despots. His evidence is found in the improvement of technique but decay of artistic quality in vases of the period that follows the destruction of Knossos in the fifteenth century B.C. Applying this theory as a law to the period between 1000 and 800 he argues that the quality of the pottery then made indicates a strong democratic revival, continuous from the democracy that followed from the fall of Knossos, and he tries to diminish the catastrophic character of the Dorian invasion, repudiating the view often held that it was followed by a 'winter of discontent' and relative anarchy. He suggests that the Dorian invasion was as little catastrophic as the Cimmerian invasion of Asia or the inroad of the Galatians into Anatolia.

Criticisms of such wide generalisations are as difficult as they are necessary. Ceramic evidence often gives a precarious foothold, particularly when it is used as a basis for political inference, and to elaborate a law about artisans and artists from such slender premises is risky, if attractive. Nor does the thesis about the Dorian invasion appear tenable, for there is no analogy between the Dorian inroad and those of the Galatians and Cimmerians. The Dorians, armed with the most efficient weapons hitherto produced, invaded a land that was virtually defenceless. That they brought about a catastrophe in nearly every Mycenaean town is evident from the remains. Cimmerians and Galatians were merely roaming bands of warriors, not unlike the mediaeval Catalan bands, who created local disturbances but never aimed at or achieved the complete control of the countries they invaded.

The spade-work has yet to be done on the 'Dark Ages' before we can be in a position to generalise and to say whether the glimmer in the sky was in the east or in the west. Perhaps twenty years hence we shall know more clearly.

S. CASSON.

Homer and his Influence. By JOHN A. SCOTT. London: George Harrap, 1926. 5s. net. ANYONE who has tried to write for this series, 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome,' knows how

difficult is the task. If we are somewhat disappointed by Mr. Scott's essay, it is not because it falls below the normal level of the series, but because his admirable *Unity of Homer* made us pitch our expectations high. We hoped that, like Mr. Mackail in his excellent book on Virgil, Mr. Scott would give us a simple and straightforward appreciation of his author as a story-teller and poet. It looks as if he had been deflected from this purpose by the ghost of the Homeric controversy. He makes a conscientious effort to cram into his narrow space more matter than it will properly hold. He has collected a mass of heterogeneous material, interesting and trivial, and has thrown it together with a nervous haste which makes the effect jerky and unconvincing. He touches first on the Homeric question, too lightly for effective argument, then on Homer's use of traditional matter, then on the merits of various English versions, and so, leaping from theme to theme, fills three chapters, more than a fifth of the book, with strictly irrelevant matter, before he comes to the *Iliad* itself. When he does, he finds no room for 'a discussion of the plot and the great scenes,' but decides to 'illustrate the poet's ability to set forth striking ideas in a few words' by a 'series of brief quotations and running comments.' The book improves as it goes on. There is, for instance, an amusing chapter on Proteus, and the many forms he has assumed in the hands of modern poets and journalists. From time to time, shrewd and humorous observations relieve monotony, and remind us that the author, though he is not perhaps Mr. Scott in his happiest vein, is still Mr. Scott.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Second edition, revised. Pp. xxxvi+559. Cambridge: University Press. 21s.

THIS edition is practically a reprint, with a new and characteristic Preface, and some few notes at the end of almost every chapter, containing corrections and references to recent publications —among them the writer's own *Epilogomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, in which she indicated some slight modifications of her earlier views. Professor Gilbert Murray has inserted in his excursus to Chapter VIII., 'On the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy,' a few paragraphs based on the statements of Herodotus with regard to the relation of Dionysus to Osiris. Some of the illustrations do not come out quite so clearly in this edition as in the first, though they are quite adequate for their purpose.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

The Religion of Ancient Greece. An outline by THADDAEUS ZIELINSKI. Translated from the Polish with the author's co-operation by GEORGE RAPALL NOYES. Pp. x + 235. Oxford University Press, 1926. 7s. 6d.

THE French translation of this pleasant but disappointing book was noticed in *C.R.* XL, p. 215. The opinion I then expressed appears to be shared by Professor Rose, *J.H.S.* XLVI, p. 264 and *Year's Work*, 1926, p. 54. The English translation reads as though it were well done. It lacks the notes and bibliography of the French version, but, on the other hand, it has an index, which the French has not.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

De dis Atticis Priapi similibus. HANS HERTER.

Pp. 64. Bonn : Scheur, 1926.

THIS is a doctoral dissertation, part of a longer work on Priapos and similar deities which the author hopes to publish later. It collects in an adequate manner what little is known of this group of deities (Orthanes, Konisalos, Tychon, Phales or Ithyphallos, Hilaon, Aphroditos), and comments on their cult and nature sensibly enough. The author maintains against Farnell the obscene nature of the allusions in Plato Comicus, fr. 174, Kock (Athen. X, 441E), on p. II ; on p. 39 he sides with those who disagree with Usener concerning the alleged identity of St. Tychon and the daimon of that name ; on p. 47 he commits himself, in discussing Phales, to the rather doubtful statement, *phallus . . . a principio haud dubie Bacchi ipsius signum fuit, paulatim autem peculiaris deus factus.* A useful little work.

H. J. ROSE.

Prehistoric Aigina. A History of the Island in the Bronze Age. By JAMES PENROSE HARLAND. Pp. xii + 122. Paris : Champion, 1925.

THIS booklet is to some extent a supplement to the author's *Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age*, and deals only with Aegina, which may be called an offshoot of the Morea. He describes first the archaeological evidence, which has been considerably increased by the Bavarian excavations of Furtwängler, recently resumed by Professor Wolters, so pending full publication of their results the conclusions drawn from them are provisional. He proceeds to discuss the various legends about early Aegina, its inhabitants and their provenance, and pronounces against Furtwängler's theory as to a Cretan colony at the Aphaia site, for which there is no real evidence. He formulates his ideas in the form of a creed, which is in the main reasonable. Aegina at the beginning of the Bronze Age (Early Helladic Period) was occupied by a people akin to the inhabitants of the Cyclades and south-western Asia Minor, who probably spoke a non-Indo-European language. With the Middle Helladic Period came the first invaders from the North—Indo-Europeans who used 'Minyan ware,' worshipped Poseidon, and soon fell under the influence of Minoan civilisation. Then about 1400 B.C. came the next wave of Northerners, 'Achaeans,' speaking proto-Doric—really a

people of the North-West dialect group, who brought with them Zeus Hellanios. The author regards the Aeacid house as Thessalian, and gives the Spercheios Valley, which was the realm of Peleus and Achilles, to Thessaly, though the archaeological evidence hardly justifies so close a connexion. The myths, however, certainly link the Spercheios Valley with Aegina, but, as Aeacus was Peleus' father, might well point to his moving north from Aegina rather than *vice versa*.

Still the origin of Minyan ware is the problem, and when this is solved we shall have made a great advance towards understanding the early ethnology of Greece. The author is probably right in regarding Aegina as one centre of manufacture of the Minyan and matt-painted wares, and not as the sole source of the latter.

A. J. B. WACE.

Antike Schlachtfelder, Bausteine zu einer Antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Vol. IV. Part 2.

J. KROMAYER und G. VEITH. Pp. 171-323. Berlin : Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926.

Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte, Griechische Abteilung I. Von Marathon bis Chaeronea. J. KROMAYER und G. VEITH.

Leipzig : H. Wagner und E. Debes, 1926.

THESE most recent volumes of two well-known works follow the lines of their predecessors, which need not be described. The first volume of *Schlachtfelder* appeared in 1903 ; the Atlas is a much more recent undertaking. The two supplement each other, and the full value of this is now made clear for the first time by the appearance of a volume of each work dealing with the same battles, and with cross-references from one to the other.

Part 2 of Vol. IV. of *Schlachtfelder* deals mainly with the Peloponnesian War, and the fourth century down to 361. It will be remembered that Vol. I. began with Epaminondas, and Vol. IV. has now overlapped Vol. I. ; it is indeed in part a new edition of Vol. I., as Kromayer has revised his views on Mantinea, and Mantinea is now dealt with for the second time. Six different authors contribute to the new volume. This is a gain from the point of view of technical knowledge, but like the curious distribution of the subjects among volumes it rather spoils the symmetry. Kromayer himself and Lehmann-Haupt, for instance, have different views as to the nature of a parasang, and both argue for their views at length in this same volume. But *Schlachtfelder* is to be regarded less as a connected work than as a collection of material for a history of ancient war. This purpose it continues to serve admirably. Ancient battles will never be reconstructed with any certainty, but the methods adopted by Kromayer and imposed by him on his collaborators get as near to the truth as it is possible to get. His method is to allow more or less equal weight to literary tradition, topography, and common sense. He avoids at once the Sherlock-Holmes-like ingenuity of most English writers on this subject, and the cocksureness of many foreign writers.

In the new volume Kromayer's fresh treat-

ment of Mantinea is of especial interest. So are the geographical investigations connected with Xenophon's and Agesilaus' movements in Asia. It is disappointing that there is still nothing to be said about the obscure warfare of the Pentekontaetia, and that we are not given a full discussion of the operations at Syracuse.

The new volume of the Atlas provides an admirable aid to the study of the book. Particularly admirable are the short summaries of matters discussed fully in the book. English readers who have a special affection for the Persian Wars will find that the summaries of Marathon and the other classic battles are models of common sense.

The Atlas contains a notification of the murder of Colonel Veith, the joint author, near Zela, where he was collecting topographical material for a later volume of the Atlas. His is a severe loss. He understood so well the use both of the sword and the pen, that he was particularly qualified for this kind of work, and brought sanity to many an academic battlefield.

N. WHATLEY.

L'impero ateniese. By A. FERRABINO. Pp. 470. Turin: Bocca, 1927. 58 lire.

UNDER this misleading title Mr. Ferrabino has written a history of the Peloponnesian War, devoid of controversial detail, but too replete with the narrative of military events to leave much room for the discussion of the Athenian empire. This arrangement of material is the more to be regretted, as the author displays no special interest in problems of strategy—Dr. Grundy's *Thucydides* is apparently unknown to him—while, on the other hand, he throws out many theories on Athenian politics which need a good deal of justification, but do not receive it. Beginning abruptly with the siege of Samos, Mr. Ferrabino proceeds to a good and careful analysis of the events preceding the war, in which Pericles no less than Archidamus is characterised as an essentially pacific statesman, yet he concludes that Pericles forced on the conflict in order to escape from some trivial contretemps in his domestic politics. For the new alignment of the Greek states in 421-0 B.C. he finds the key in the antagonism between democrats at Argos and oligarchs in Boeotia. In his account of the Melian and Sicilian expeditions he makes Nicias go arm in arm with Alcibiades, and interprets his reluctance to the latter enterprise as an artful piece of coquetry. In the affair of the Four Hundred he promotes Peisander to the position of prime instigator, and conflates Aristotle's two constitutions, the 'Provisorium' and the 'Definitivum,' into a single act. He represents the execution of the six generals in 406 B.C. as a victory of an oligarchic group in the Boule over a more humane or scrupulous Ecclesia. These and similar paradoxes may perhaps be capable of proof, but the rather curt arguments on which they are made to rest are scarcely sufficient to make us abandon Thucydides and Xenophon in their favour.

Mr. Ferrabino spares a few pages for some interesting observations on literature and econo-

mics. In the field of economics he is somewhat free in the use of new modern concepts; in particular, he draws a sharp distinction between 'imprendenti' and 'risparmiatori,' which belongs to recent rather than to ancient history. But his analyses of labour and money conditions are often shrewd and well worth following up. He startles us by degrading Aristophanes into a mere cynic, but on the *Oedipus Coloneus* and the *Bacchae* he pronounces a more felicitous judgment: 'Sofocle nasconde il dolore tra fumi d' incenso; a Euripide anche il balsamo è amaro.'

M. CARY.

De Orationibus quae sunt in Xenophontis Hellenicis. By ELISABETH VORRENHAGEN. Pp. 143. Elberfeld: Karl Rheinen, 1926.

THE industrious lady who has penned this dissertation on the *Hellenica* of Xenophon gives a list of no less than seventy authorities which she has consulted; and of these the only English name is Jebb—alas for the nakedness of the land! Among Continental scholars, it appears, there has been of late a lively controversy concerning the composition of the *Hellenica*. Did Xenophon write it all straightway or at considerable intervals, 'here a little and there a little'? Is the work a unity or a plurality? Our authoress belongs to the army of Chorizantes, follows the flag of Münscher and Pohlenz and fights valiantly for the cause. According to her the *Hellenica* is tripartite, the divisions coming at the end of Bk. II. and of V. 1; and of the three parts the second is probably the earliest. The orations in each part are severally subjected to a minute analysis, with special attention to their rhetorical style; and this detailed examination is followed by a 'Conspectus orationum, dialogorum, sententiarum insertarum'; after which we have a 'conclusio' discussing 'quibus de causis Xenophon orationes Hellenicis inseruerit,' in which we are informed at great length that it was the fashion for historians to insert such speeches; but a better reason is to be found in the fact that the speeches enabled them to lie magnificently! Altogether, this is a painstaking production in readable Latin, and it deserves commendation accordingly.

R. G. BURY.

Loeb Classical Library: (1) Aristotle: *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. RACKHAM, M.A. (2) Aristotle: *The 'Art' of Rhetoric*, with an English translation by J. H. FREESE. Pp. (1) xxvi + 650; (2) xlvi + 492. London: Heinemann, 1926. Cloth, 10s. per vol.; leather, 12s. 6d. per vol.

EACH of these volumes in the Loeb series has a recent rival in the Oxford translation of Aristotle's works. The purpose of the two series is of course somewhat different; but it is none the less interesting to compare Mr. Rackham's with Mr. Ross's version of the *Ethics*, and Mr. Freese's with Mr. Rhys Roberts' version of the *Rhetoric*. The advantage in respect of precision lies, I think, in both cases beyond doubt with the Oxford translator. As

a piece of English Mr. Rackham's version is perhaps slightly more readable than Mr. Ross's; but Mr. Freese must yield place here again to Mr. Roberts. Speaking generally and apart from comparison, we find Mr. Rackham's *Ethics* a careful and scholarly version, which will serve its purpose very well. Mr. Freese also gives a sound workable version, but he is too apt to fall into a looseness of phraseology which often blurs the outlines of Aristotle's thought.

We venture to suggest that for any reissue Mr. Rackham should reconsider the following passages : I. ii. 1 (*βούλόμεθα* 'we will,' but *βούλησις* is consistently 'wish'); I. iii. 2 ('Moral Nobility and Justice' are surely not 'the subjects studied by political science'); I. iv. 5 (*γνώριμον* should be translated by the same word on both sides of the antithesis, *γ. ημῖν* and *γ. διπλῶσ*); I. vii. 16 (the translation misrepresents *ἔτι δὲ ἐν βίᾳ τελεῖων*, which is an addition to the definition of happiness just given). II. ii. 5 (*δὲ παρὸν λόγος* is not a theory investigated, but the discussion now proceeding); II. vi. 15 (if *δὲ δῆ* in the definition of virtue must be rejected, it should be accorded the honours of war and correctly translated; it could not possibly have the meaning given it in R.'s footnote : see Aspasius). III. i. 1 and 24 ('feelings' will perhaps do for *πάθη*, but 'voluntary feelings' is awkward; and the adjective *έκοντας* is not applied to *πάθος* by Aristotle); III. v. 17 (the co-ordination of *εἰ μὲν οὖν . . . εἰ δὲ μή* seems to be ignored, and Aristotle's reply must surely begin at *εἰ μὲν οὖν*). V. i. 1 (Vinogradoff's explanation of *δικαιοσύνη* in the general sense demands at least mention); V. i. 20 (a difference in *εἴναι* cannot be a difference only for thought). VI. iii. 1 (if 'art' meant 'technical skill' or 'craftsmanship' for Aristotle, it would not be an intermediate term between *έμπειρα* and *έπωτήμην*, nor would an essay on the principles of speaking be called a *τέχνη*).

We have also noted the following queries in the *Rhetoric*: I. i. 1 ('confined' should be 'allotted'); I. i. 10 and ii. 1 (*μέθοδος* does not mean 'method,' but corresponds more nearly to our 'science'); I. vi. 12 (*κτήσις* should surely be 'possession' rather than 'acquisition,' since wealth is not good *getting*, but good *having*); I. xiv. 1 ('inheres in' for *ἐνυπάρχειν* is clumsy and misleading; rather 'is contained in'). II. iii. 1 (*πράως ἔχοντι* cannot mean 'become mild'; and 'such' in 'be such' five lines lower has no reference). III. xvi. 1 (Aristotle would surely never say that a narrative ought to be 'disjointed': the opposite of 'consecutive' is 'broken' or 'intermittent'). J. L. STOCKS.

pages, is rather longer than the old one. In the historical part, B.C. 323-301, it is a new edition only; most of the more important new material has been considered (the Nicocles coin is an exception), but sometimes in notes only; the chief textual alterations are due to the recognition of Antigonus' war with Seleucus after 311, and to acceptance of the now certain fact that Antigonus and not Ptolemy founded the Island League, which has also enabled the appendix on King-worship to be shortened. There are four new appendices—that on Sarapis accepts the Sinope tradition but cannot explain it, that on the Babylonian Chronicle follows Otto (though there is a good deal more to the question than Kaerst gives); the old appendices on King-worship and the satrapy question remain, but that on the *Humanitätsidee* is omitted. The main body of the book, however—Books V. on Hellenistic Culture and VI. on the Hellenistic State—is more than a second edition; parts have been recast, and the three most important chapters, those on Religion (V. 4), on Hellenistic Culture historically considered (V. 5), and on the Monarchical Idea (VI. 1), have been partly rewritten, as has the end of V. 3, on Specialisation and Division of Labour; the result is a distinct gain both in matter and interest. V. 4 is considerably expanded and contains a much fuller account of the Oriental background; the part dealing with Syncretism is the best study there is. VI. 1 now includes an examination of the Soter idea, and V. 4 ends with a (new) discussion of why Hellenism fell; in this, though giving weight to Rome and Orientalisation, Kaerst decides that the cause really lay in the Hellenistic civilisation itself, primarily in too much individualism—a view likely to be controversial. The merits of the book are too well known to need notice, though I doubt myself whether the basis of fact be always sufficient to carry the superstructure of theory here built up. But the attractiveness of Kaerst's philosophising of Hellenistic history is unquestionable, and no one who desires to understand the period can afford to leave it unread.

W. W. TARN.

Untersuchungen zu den Schriften des Hermes Trismegistos. Inaugural Dissertation. By

FRIEDRICH BRÄUNINGER. Pp. 41. Grafenheinichen : C. Schulze and Co., 1926.

THIS dissertation, which provides a good starting-point for the investigation of the philosophical and religious content of the *corpus Hermeticum*, takes for its criterion the occurrence of two words, *γνώσκειν* and *νοεῖν*, and their cognates. The former, in its technical meaning 'to have (mystic) knowledge or intuition (of God)' is to be found, with few and easily explained exceptions, only in *C.H.* I, III, IV, VI, VII, X, XIII, and the isolated passage IX, 4. The content of all these treatises is mystical, Oriental (although the phraseology of Greek philosophy is used), ascetic and otherworldly. Fate (*εἱμαρένην*) is regarded throughout as bad, a crushing yoke from which the mystic gnosis is to deliver the elect. The tone of the other group is entirely different. On familiar Platonizing Stoic lines, it regards

Geschichte des Hellenismus. Band II. : Das Wesen des Hellenismus. By JULIUS KAERST. Pp. xii+409. Leipzig-Berlin : Teubner, 1926. R.M. 18.

THIS is a new edition of Kaerst's *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Vol. II., 1—now called *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Vol. II.; the author promises a third volume to complete his picture of Hellenism. This volume, though with fewer

εἰμαρμένη as the cosmic order, the visible expression in the material universe of Divine Providence, and therefore as a thing to be acquiesced in and warmly admired. In place of a mystic gnosis of God, it has an intellectual approach, through the created to the Creator, expressed by the verb *νοεῖν*. Hence it is clear, not only that the *corpus* cannot be the work of any one body of thought, nor the text-book of any one sect, but probably that its formation is late, if not so late (*circa* 1050) as Scott supposes. A number of subordinate points are interestingly discussed.

H. J. ROSE.

Aphthonii Progymnasmata. Edidit HUGO RABE. Pp. xxx+79. Leipzig : Teubner, 1926. M. 3.60.

THIS edition of Aphthonius forms the tenth volume in the Teubner series of *Rhetores Graeci*, and besides Aphthonius it includes fragments from other writers on the art of rhetoric, of whom the most considerable is Sopater. In his preface the editor states his views about the MS. tradition, collects the pertinent *testimonia*, and in general supplies all the available information upon his subject in succinct Latin. These 'preliminary exercises' themselves are of no great interest—unless we except that perennial topic of discussion, *εἰ γαμητέον*, 'Is marriage a failure?'—but they serve to throw light on the manner in which the professors of that age sought to instruct their pupils, the budding barristers of Syria. For Aphthonius is reputed to have been a native of Syrian Antioch, and tradition also tells us that he was a disciple of the more famous orator Libanius. This being so, it is curious to notice that Liddell and Scott (in past editions) put down A.D. 315 as the *floruit* of Aphthonius and A.D. 350 as that of Libanius; and, to make confusion worse confounded, we are informed by Mr. Rabe that Libanius wrote a letter to Aphthonius in 392, by which time the former ought in all decency to have been dead and the latter dust. The editorial work is evidently carried out with care and diligence, and the form is worthy of the famous publishing house.

R. G. BURY.

Saint Basil : The Letters. In four volumes. Vol. I. With an English translation by ROY J. DEFERRARI. Pp. lv + 366. London : Heinemann (Loeb Series), 1926. 10s. net.

Eusebius : The Ecclesiastical History. In two volumes. Vol. I. With an English translation by KIRSOOP LAKE. Pp. lvi + 525. London : Heinemann (Loeb Series), 1926. 10s. net.

SIX MSS. of Basil's Letters (including two not used by the Benedictines) had been collated by the author and Van den Ven, with a view to a new text of the Letters, when the war intervened. The text here given is based on that collation. Professor Deferrari frankly confesses that it is not only provisional in itself, but partly antiquated by the work of the Abbé de Bessières (*J.T.S.* XXI., 1919, pp. i ff.; and Oxford, 1923). The Loeb collation includes no representative

of the most important family in the *stemma* drawn up by the Abbé. The author, in effect, has had to choose between paying fifteen shillings in the pound and postponing payment indefinitely. Few will quarrel with his decision.

Whether the Douay Version (with its brother of Rheims) is the best vehicle for scriptural quotation in the Loeb library is a purely literary question, which has doubtless received the attention of the general editors of the series. It is occasionally disconcerting. In the sixth beatitude (Matthew 5, 8) 'pure in heart,' not 'clean of heart' (p. 89), awakes in the vast majority of English readers the associations which καθαροὶ τὴν καρδίαν conveyed to Basil; in Luke 17, 2 (p. 299) 'scandalise one of these little ones' jars on the ear of the modern Englishman; on p. 243, Philippians 3, 13-14, when rendered 'Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forth myself to those that are before I press towards the mark, to the prize of the *supernal vocation*', is, for the stylist, 'butchered to make a Roman holiday.'

Basil's style, packed with literary and scriptural allusion, yet vigorous and individual, is hard to reproduce in English. This is a careful and conscientious version, which seldom follows Basil into elegance or eloquence, but never shirks difficulties. Of a list of passages which challenge comment the following are typical. On p. 7, for ράσων γέγονα, 'have been put at ease,' is hardly strong enough; neither is 'bereft' as a translation of ἀπεστερίθηκεν (followed by ἀπεδώκαμεν τῷ χρησαντι) on p. 37. On p. 49 πατρίδος is '(native) city,' a common fourth-century use. On p. 50 τι (an τε?) and πυκνότερον are not contrasted, as the translation suggests. On p. 98 γράμμασι are surely 'letters,' not 'words.' On p. 100 τὰς καὶ ἀρετὴν πρᾶξεις are 'your virtuous activities,' 'your good works.' On p. 110 τῶν καὶ θύραν ἐπιμηγνύμενων ἡμῖν are 'those who drop in on us when they are hunting,' not 'the guests who join me in hunting.' On p. 112 μητρόπολις is the courtesy title familiar to epigraphists and numismatists rather than 'our home city.' On p. 192, l. 4, the context shows that οἰκον is 'property,' not 'household,' as οἰκος is three lines lower. On p. 316 ἀδηλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ Θεῷ is annotated: 'part of a senarius line, but its source is unknown.' Its source is Plato, *Apology* 42. Basil had steeped himself in Plato; and although he quoted much from memory this passage has a bearing on the textual question in the *Apology* (Burnet reads πλὴν εἰ). On p. 318, l. 6, there is a misprint. On p. 322 οὐδὲ προελόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν is misunderstood, or maled; in the next sentence there should probably be a full stop after ἀνδρα, the following ὡ . . . ὡ . . . δοσον being exclamatory. On pp. 330, 331, is not either ὑπερκειμένη or 'underlying' a slip?

The Letters of Basil are a welcome addition to the Loeb library, and Professor Deferrari deserves warm thanks for this first instalment of his arduous undertaking.

Kirsopp Lake's text is that of Schwartz. The translation of Eusebius, again a difficult task, is excellently done, and the introduction and notes

are judicious. On p. 247 a touch of local colour has been lost. The native town of the converted-brigand is given in the *Chronicon Paschalæ* as Smyrna; and a Smyrniote brigand who κατειληφεν τὸ ὄπος has taken not to 'the mountains' but to 'the mountain'—i.e. Tmolus—just as the famous Chakyry did in the twentieth century. On p. 473 διαιρέθουλημένην is strangely rendered 'torn in two'; and on p. 477 the phrasing of note 2 suggests that Avircius was the author of the tractate addressed to him. The penultimate sentence of note 2 on p. 47 should run: 'The evidence for two Syrian governorships of Quirinius is conclusive (Lapis Tiburtinus and Lapis Venetus); the evidence for a census in Judaea during his first governorship is Luke 2, 1-5, taken in conjunction with Matthew 2, and supported by the analogy of Kietis in A.D. 36 (Tacitus, *Ann.* VI. 41); see Ramsay, *Bearing*, etc., p. 234.'

W. M. CALDER.

Die Duenos-Inscription. Von EMIL GOLDMANN. Pp. xiii + 176, with two plates. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926.

THE Duenos inscription, which can, on epigraphical grounds, be assigned to the fourth century B.C., contains 138 or 139 letters. Of these four or five groups, *deivos*, *cosmis*, *ted*, *med*, *feced*, appear to form Latin words otherwise known; apart from the limitations imposed by recognition of these, the solver of the puzzle has complete liberty of action, and can cut up the inscription into such lengths as from time to time suit his ingenuity. Dr. Goldmann reproduces and criticises the interpretations of over 30 predecessors, and gives a new one of his own. He starts with the assumption that the inscription contains a magic formula, and cuts up the inscription into words which, if they were known to have existed, might have borne the meanings assigned to them. But his restoration of the inscription bears too little resemblance to any kind of Latin known outside etymological dictionaries to be anything but a pleasing *jeu d'esprit*; and, in this respect, it maintains worthily a long tradition. Two or three details may be noticed. On p. 78 *med mitat* is translated as if the verb *mittere* could mean 'zauberisch wirken lassen,' but no examples of this use of the word are produced. In spite of Dr. Goldmann's very proper distrust of forms manufactured *ad hoc*, he himself, p. 114, invents a new adjective **opetos*, 'useful,' which, after serious consideration, he discards for the better attested *obitus*. On p. 128 *enmanom* of the inscription is equated with *immanem*, 'Zauberkräftig'; here a new meaning is invented, as for the following (*meinom*, 'weak in magic power').

The puzzle remains unsolved, but would-be solvers must now consult Dr. Goldmann's work.

J. FRASER.

Il Proemio degli Annali di Q. Ennio. By G. B. PICHI. Pp. 56. Milan: Società Editrice 'Vita e Pensiero,' 1926. 4 lire.

THIS pamphlet is described as 'a study in

arrangement and exegesis.' In his series of essayettes, on such subjects as the speech of Homer and the reason for his tears, and in his expanded prose paraphrase of the actual fragments, Dr. Pichi is at his best. It is in the arrangement of the restored text that he is least convincing. We cannot accept his statement that *loca aspera, saxa tesca* (of which both authenticity and provenance are doubtful) is necessarily a description of Parnassus, or that *Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis* belongs to Homer's speech. Still less can we agree that the famous *Lunai portum* of Persius (VI. 9) forms no part of the Ennius fragment, and may therefore be 'emended' to *Romai uatem*. But the work is not without value, if merely as another indication of the reality of the too long delayed revival of interest in Ennius.

ETHEL MARY STEUART.

M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione Liber Secundus. Part II. With Commentary by ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE. Pp. 463-656. University of Illinois Press, 1923. \$1.50.

A NOTICE has (*mea culpa*) long been overdue of the second part of Dr. Pease's edition of the *De Divinatione*. It consists in the main of the remainder of the text of the second book (chaps. XXXII.-LXVII.) with the same full commentary as before. In writing of the two first volumes (C.R. XXXVII., 1923, p. 30), I assumed perhaps too rashly that the book was intended for the use of ordinary students of the classics, and expressed some 'grumbles' at its plan. I have since learned from the author that his intention was rather to provide references and bibliography for more advanced students who wished to pursue any point of religious, historical, or literary interest which is raised by the text. In that aspect much of my 'grumbling' was beside the mark, though I still think that the notes with their superabundance of bracketed references are confusing to read, and that occasionally even advanced students would have been glad of a little more guidance through difficult passages, such as the very technical discussion on astrology in §89, and the obscure sentence which introduces the *peremnia* in §77. But in general Dr. Pease's careful and exhaustive collection of material will prove an invaluable storehouse of information. Special attention might be drawn to the excellent notes on *umbilicus terrarum* (LVI. 115), and on *supersticio* and *religio* (LXXII. 148); in all these ample material is provided for the formation of a judgment on vexed questions, though Dr. Pease characteristically keeps his own view in the background.

The commentary is followed by some addenda to the notes in all four volumes, a very valuable account of the MSS. and editions of the *De Divinatione*, and an ample index. Dr. Pease is certainly to be congratulated on having brought a great undertaking to a conclusion; his edition must for a long time hold the field, and prove of great service to students of the difficult subject of ancient divination in general.

C. BAILEY.

Staat und Manufaktur im Römischen Reiche.

By AXEL W. PERSSON. Pp. 144. Lund : C. W. K. Gleerup. 1923. 5 kr.

I CAN only repeat here what I have already said at greater length about this useful monograph in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1924 (Vol. XIV.), p. 267. It discusses state control of industries, first in Ptolemaic Egypt (pp. 1-18), and then in Egypt under the Roman rule (pp. 19-37) : this is followed by a detailed treatment of the subject in the Roman Empire down to the fifth century, which forms the main body of the pamphlet (pp. 38-116). At the end there is a good four-page summary in English, and full indices complete the volume. As a study in ancient economic history it is of real value, but it devotes more attention to the state production and selling of textiles, and less (for instance) to the state arms manufactories: the documentation, both from ancient sources and modern authorities, is full and ample. It is, in fact, a work of permanent utility as a detailed study of an interesting subject, work that will not need to be done again for some time.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

The Problem of Claudius. (Some Aspects of a Character Study.) By THOMAS DE COURSEY RUTH. Pp. 138. Baltimore, Md : The Lord Baltimore Press, 1924. 6s.

THIS is a book at once interesting and tantalising : Mr. Ruth had finished it by 1916, but was unable to publish it until late in 1924, and it suffers somewhat from lack of more recent information. But it is full of good matter : the author has gathered all the evidence for Claudius' personality and character that he can glean from Pliny, Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio Cassius and the rest, and marshalled it into chapters on Claudius' timidity, his *μετεωρία*, his alleged cruelty, his humanity, and so on (rather in the Suetonian fashion). Some allusions have escaped him (in Lydus and Largus, for instance), otherwise the book is very complete and thorough; but just as we are expecting a section on Claudius' statesmanship, or on his policy at home and abroad, or a treatment of his speeches and edicts (and a great deal could be won from a careful study of these), the author turns aside to a medical diagnosis and pronounces that Claudius suffered from 'paraplegic rigidity, or Little's disease.' This, however true, seems a little disappointing ; after so detailed and scholarly a review of the evidence, we might have had some estimate of Claudius as man and ruler, and to be offered paraplegic rigidity is a stiff substitute. But the book is undeniably good, and I can only hope that Mr. Ruth is now at work upon a second part, and that it will contain a full treatment of Claudius' foreign and domestic policy, his attitude towards foreign religions, and his handling of the Jewish question, in view of what has come to light within recent years, for the writer is well equipped to deal with the subject.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

L'Octavius de Minucius Felix et l'Apologétique de Tertullien. By GEORGES HINNISDAELS. Pp. 139. Bruxelles : Hayez, 1924.

De Tertulliano et Minucio Felice. By J. G. P. BORLEFFS. Pp. 119. Groningen : Wolters, 1925.

EACH of these studies aims at proving the priority of Minucius Felix ; both explain the similarities in the *Octavius* and the *Apology* by the supposition that Tertullian had before his eyes the work of the earlier apologist. Hinnisdaels' introduction gives a careful account of the various theories which have been put forward on the relations between the two authors ; his main object is to examine and to refute the case presented by R. Heinze for the priority of Tertullian. His method is to examine the theological and religious teaching of both apologies, in the course of which he writes what is an interesting and useful commentary on the contents and the background of both. Borleffs follows the same method ; his discussion covers perhaps more ground, but in less detail.

However useful these contributions may be, they provoke regret that so much time and thought should be expended upon a problem which is as near solution as it will ever be. When so much else in later Latin literature remains untouched, such expenditure of labour is a doubtful gain.

J. H. BAXTER.

S. Aureli Augustini, Hippomensis Episcopi, De Cathechizandis Rudibus. Translated, with an Introduction, Commentary, and Indices, by JOSEPH P. CHRISTOPHER. Pp. xx + 365. The Catholic Education Press : Brookland, D.C., U.S.A., 1926. \$3.00.

WE learn, from the brief 'vita' attached to this portly volume, that Mr. Christopher is a comparatively young man (he was born in 1890), and that the present volume was submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. We presume he was admitted to his doctorate ; certainly this work deserves that honour. We have far too few really adequate editions of the Patristic writers, in whole or part : but it is noteworthy that some attempt has been made, in recent years, to rectify this defect. Mayor's edition of the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian, together with his brilliant monograph on the Latin Hexateuch, have done much to wipe away from English letters the reproach that our scholars were but slenderly equipped for work of this sort ; Hort and Mayor's edition of the seventh book of *Stromateis* of Clement was a notable performance ; Dr. Souter has recently enriched scholarship with his fine work on Pelagius ; Bishop Lightfoot's editions of Ignatius and (the Roman) Clement are classics ; and Archdeacon Gifford, in his old age, produced an edition of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, which was worthy of the great University that published it. Quite recently Dean Welldon published an edition of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, which deserves mention, though it must be owned that it is rather in the nature of stop-gap work—useful for average

students, but no more. Dr. Christopher's volume is a genuine contribution to Patristic study. If the introduction is too meagre to be of first-rate importance, the commentary is full and learned throughout. Few difficulties are shirked; and the translation—which faces the Latin text—enables us at all times to see exactly how the editor proposes to construe the original. It moves a little heavily at times, but it is at least close, and (so far as one can judge) accurate. The text follows, apparently, that of the Benedictine edition (reprinted by Migne in 1865), with but few changes. The value of Dr. Christopher's edition would have been increased had he given us a critically revised text, with a brief apparatus criticus. But he has not done so; it is to the exegesis of the text, rather than to critical discussions, that he has devoted his labours. The section on 'style' (Introduction, pp. 10-12) is singularly jejune; surely it would have been worth while to write something more adequate to the occasion; Watson has shown us, in his monograph on Cyprian (*Studia Biblica*), how this sort of thing ought to be done. At the same time, it must not be overlooked that a good number of the notes are devoted to elucidating points of style (e.g. i 9; ii 4; iii 29; viii 24; xvii 15; xxii 7; and elsewhere); but this is not enough. Dr. Christopher is often very happy in the parallel passages he quotes. The bibliography is full and useful, but not always perfectly accurate; as far as I have examined them, the indices are trustworthy. We hope Dr. Christopher will be encouraged, by the reception given to this—his first—commentary, to gird himself to other tasks in the same (more or less) unworked field. The Letters of Jerome—full of interesting sidelights on social manners—surely need a good editor.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Cicero: Philippics. Translated by W. C. A. KER. (Loeb Series.) Pp. xi+654. London: Heinemann, 1926. 10s.

CICERO'S *Philippics* have suffered from the fact that the first two speeches of the series have become school classics and thus tend to oblige Nos. 3 to 14. Yet the later speeches throw many new lights on the orator's art and ethos. In No. 13 Cicero gives free rein to his powers of repartee; in No. 8 he mends his manners and sets himself to refute without giving offence; in No. 9 he exhibits his latent fine feeling and warmth of heart; in No. 12 he loses his nerve at the prospect of physical danger and almost repeats the fiasco of the *Miloniana*. Moreover, in the case of the *Philippics*, the whole is greater than the parts. Only by reading *usque ad mala* can we appreciate the daemonic energy which carried Rome's resuscitated veteran through his 'Midlothian campaign.' The editors of the Loeb series deserve our thanks for giving us the *Philippics en bloc*, not in samples.

Mr. Ker's translation is a careful and conscientious piece of work. Here and there he uses a misleading expression:

P. 25. 'Veterani qui appellabantur' = 'those that claimed the name of veterans.'

P. 43. 'Operas mercennarias' = 'a gang of suborned labourers.'

P. 77. 'Cuius tibi fatum sicut C. Curioni manet' = 'whose fate awaits you, as it does C. Curio.'

Pp. 167, 595. 'Sanctus' (i.e., 'upright, respectable') = 'pious' and 'holy.'

P. 217. 'In ore habebat' = 'he had in his eye.'

P. 269. 'Antesignanus' = 'colour-sergeant.'

P. 287. 'Qui peregre depugnarit' = 'as being one that fought abroad' (add 'as a gladiator').

P. 355. For 'Firmium' read 'Firmum.'

A few colloquialisms have also crept in: 'They were willing to have agreed' (p. 115); 'all this is done quicker than my description' (p. 147); 'a tavern blow-out' (p. 209-11); 'he will find no man fairer than I' (p. 259).

A more general criticism is that Mr. Ker has perhaps carried literalness somewhat too far, with the result that his English at times seems tame as compared with the Latin. But this defect may be claimed a merit in the Loeb series; at any rate Mr. Ker's translation is an excellent guide to the Latin.

The introduction and notes are of necessity brief. These, too, require an occasional retouch. The tribune of 49 B.C. was Quintus, not Aulus Cassius (p. 5). The fund which Antony acquired on the morrow of Caesar's murder was Caesar's private fortune, not the public treasure (p. 8). Sex. Pompeius conquered most of Baetica, but not the whole of the Iberian peninsula (p. 542). More serious than these slips are the errors concerning the distribution of the provinces. To mention but the most important point, it is practically certain that Macedonia and Syria had not been assigned to M. Brutus and Cassius by Caesar, and that Antony did not injure these two when he secured the provinces in question for himself and Dolabella. (For other details see Sternkopf's masterly article in *Hermes* 1912, or Mr. Denniston's summary in his ed. of *Philippics* I. and II., Appendix I.) With these reservations Mr. Ker's historical explanations will be found accurate and most helpful.

Altogether, Mr. Ker's translation is a valuable addition to the Loeb series. It should serve to initiate its readers to the many-sidedness of Cicero's art.

M. CARY.

An Economic History of Rome. By TENNEY FRANK. Pp. xi+519. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. 13s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR TENNEY FRANK'S book is a good deal more than a new edition of his economic history published in 1920 and reviewed in the *C.R.* XXXIV. p. 178. His subject then was limited to the republican period, and even on this he has added two new chapters on provincial policy and financial interests in the last age of the republic. But, besides doing this, he has now included the economic history of the early empire. Thus, more than a third of the matter in this edition is entirely new. And the extension of the work is amply justified by its interest and value. The author very properly disclaims any competition with Professor Rostovtzeff's monumental work; but by extending

his period, he has not only made the abundant references in his earlier work to the Digest and to inscriptions of imperial date strictly relevant, but has given us the best complete account of the economic history of Rome in existence.

W. W. HOW.

The Old Oligarch, being the Constitution of the Athenians ascribed to Xenophon. By J. A. PETCH. Pp. 29. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1s. 6d.

THE work consists of an Introduction of less than eight pages and a translation of the text. The Introduction is of little value. In the discussion of the date it seems to be forgotten that a date later than 413 B.C. is excluded by the references to the *φόρος*, and what is said as to the object of the tract comes to very little. It would have been wiser to have had no Introduction, and to have devoted the eight pages to a discussion of the more difficult passages in the text. The translation has no claim to elegance. Unfortunately, it is disfigured by blunders. 'Εκατοστή (I. 17) is translated 'five per cent.' λίνον (II. 11) appears as 'cloth' (it is odd to read that 'my ships are made of somebody's wood, somebody's iron, and somebody's cloth'), and *τερπὶ τὸν πολέμου* (III. 2) is rendered 'relating to war.'

E. M. WALKER.

Prehistoric and Roman Wales. By R. E. M. WHEELER, D.Lit., F.S.A. Pp. 299, Frontispiece, 109 figures, and 4 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 18s.

IT is to be regretted that the portion of Dr. Wheeler's 'scrap-book'—would that all scrap-books were so full of well-digested matter—which chiefly concerns this journal is the least important of the whole. In the first six chapters we are given an exposition, invaluable for the prehistorian, of the data for the story of Wales from Aurignac days to the tenuous Welsh Early Iron Age. If the tale sometimes labours somewhat, that is the fault not of the teller but of the tale itself. The record is however clear and sane, though more than once Dr. Wheeler unfortunately countenances the redundant clumsiness of current prehistoric terminology. It is this, by far the more substantial and valuable portion of the book, which has here to be ignored, except in so far as it prepares the way for the seventh chapter, that on Roman Wales.

The chapter on the Roman occupation is a useful summary of the position of Wales under the Empire, but naturally, as it is in substance a public lecture, it in no way supersedes Haverfield's *Military Aspects of Roman Wales* as a source-book. Comparatively little detailed evidence is given, and the value of this chapter rests in the attempt to summarise the history of the Principality in Roman times. That the attempt is not completely successful is to be ascribed for the most part to the lack of evidence, but the suggestion that the extensive activity under Severus was a 'showing of the flag' seems most unfortunate. Until we know more as a result of such careful excavation as Dr. Wheeler himself has carried out it is well to restrain interpretation. Dr. Wheeler has himself remarkably well

in hand save for this unhappy suggestion, the more unhappy as he himself is aware of the danger of so-called parallels from modern Imperialism, and on the subsequent page (234) mentions Irish immigration as taking place as early as the second century. To check evil results of such movement a strengthening of the frontier region might well be called for, and under Severus the frontier was still not a line but a belt.

The worth of this account of Roman Wales, regarded as a summary of temporary conclusions from the available evidence, is however obvious, and such small points as the description of Silchester as 'a garden city' do not greatly detract therefrom. Especial attention is merited by the comment (page 252) with regard to the evidence to be drawn from the latest coins of the Empire found in Britain. When it is remembered, and it is the recent tendency to forget, that 'by the end of the fourth century the issue of official copper currency had practically ceased in the West, and old coins remained long in use,' the whole problem of the 'evacuation' is once again restored to its proper complexity.

We venture to compliment Dr. Wheeler on the skill and erudition he has brought to bear upon his difficult task. He expresses the hope that his own book 'may soon be superseded by a work more commensurate with the material.' We rather believe that his book, though it soon may be further developed and expanded, by Dr. Wheeler himself it is to be hoped, will hardly be 'superseded,' at least as a collection of the prehistoric material, for many years.

J. A. PETCH.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami: denuo recognitum et auctum. Per P. S. ALLEN, M.A., D.Litt., et H. M. ALLEN. Vol. VI., 1525-1527. Oxonii: In Typographeo Clarendoniano, MCMXXVI.

THE sixth volume of Dr. and Mrs. Allen's monumental edition contains two hundred and seventy letters, of which ninety-two are written to Erasmus. The bulk of them deal in the main with theological controversy. Erasmus is, as he puts it, taking a middle course between Scylla and Charybdis, attacked on the one side by Luther and the reformers and on the other by monks, friars, and the Sorbonne. His own leanings to reform he is very careful only to impart to intimate friends like Pirckheimer. Occasionally he criticises the Cicero-worshippers of Italy, and it appears from letter 1720 that, following a suggestion of Froben, he had already planned the *Ciceronianus*. Of his English friends, Mountjoy appears to have broken off relations, but there are letters from Bishops Longland and Tunstall, from Lupset and Robert Aldridge, and Erasmus himself writes to Longland, Wolsey, and Reginald Pole. Erasmus' amazing memory is well illustrated by his correspondence with Aldridge. In December, 1525, he asks Aldridge to collate a MS. of Seneca in King's College Library. A year later Aldridge sends a volume with collations from a King's MS. and a

Peterhouse MS., which the name of Erasmus had enabled him to borrow. Erasmus in reply makes no mention of the Peterhouse MS., but says the King's one is worthless, and the librarians have deceived him. He then gives a minute description of the MS. he really wants collated as being in the smaller library, and tentatively suggests that Aldridge might take the trouble. Cambridge was deserted on account of the sweating

sickness in 1526; so Aldridge had been unable to get a companion to read the MS. to him.

Thirty letters are printed for the first time in this volume. This correspondence with the Antwerp banker Erasmus Schets begins in 1525. Schets writes a vigorous and unconventional Latin, full of curious forms, but always easy to understand, and he is a thorough-going hero-worshipper.

G. C. RICHARDS.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers were read in the summer term :

'The Date of Plato's Republic.' Professor G. C. Field.

'The Character and Policy of Domitian in the Light of his Coinage.' Mr. H. Mattingly.

'Early Mediterranean Languages and Peoples.' Professor G. E. K. Brauholtz.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK). (1927.)

ANTIQUITIES.—May 9. K. Regling, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* [Berlin : Schoetz und Parrhysius, 1924] (J. G. Milne). Highly praised for its scholarship, and as a joy to any lover of art.—May 16. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era* [New York : Macmillan, 1923. Two vols.] (E. Riess). A good collection of material, but prolix and uncritical.

GEOGRAPHY.—May 16. O. Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus : Galliae, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Pannoniae, Illyricum, Italia* [Berlin : Weidmann, 1923] (W. W. Hyde). A thorough investigation of MSS., methods, and sources for an important section of the Geography. 'Has placed the critical study of Ptolemy on a new basis.'

HISTORY AND ECONOMICS.—May 2. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im Hellenistischen Aegypten. I. Band : Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft* [Munich : Beck, 1925] (M. Rostovtzeff). Highly praised, but R. regrets that S. has not paid more attention to the historical development of Egyptian agriculture, to a comparison with agriculture elsewhere, and to archaeological finds.—Sir S. Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* [London : Macmillan, 1926] (T. Frank). Praised.—May 9. G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilisation* [New York : Knopf, 1925] (T. L. Shear). Translation from the French original (1923). Highly praised.—May 16. F. Münter, *Die politische Vernichtung des Griechentums* [Leipzig : Dietrich, 1925] (W. S. Ferguson). An interesting pamphlet, based on the analogy between Macedon in Greece and Prussia in modern Germany.—May 23. M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World. Vol. I. : The Orient and Greece. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff* [Oxford University Press, 1926] (C. J. Kraemer). Praised as a judicious summary by a master hand.

LITERATURE.—April 11. E. Schwartz, *Die*

Odyssee [Munich : Hueber, 1924]. W. Dörpfeld, *Homers Odyssee* [Munich : Buchenau und Reichert, 1924] (S. E. Bassett). Two new dissection theories, entirely different from each other, both of which B. profoundly disbelieves.—May 2. J. M. Campbell, *The Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Style of the Sermons of St. Basil the Great* [Washington, D.C. : Catholic University of America, 1922] (H. M. Hubbell). A doctoral dissertation, largely dealing with statistics of the use of rhetorical figures.—May 9. A. O'Brien-Moore, *Madness in Ancient Literature* [Weimar : Wagner, 1924] (W. S. Fox). A Princeton dissertation, dealing 'in an indefinite way with an indefinite subject,' but illuminating many passages, especially in the tragedians.—May 16. J. A. Scott, *Homer and His Influence* [Boston : Marshall Jones, 1925, in 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome'] (A. Shewan). Praised.

PHILOSOPHY.—May 9. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics. A Revised Text, with Introduction and Commentary* [Oxford University Press, 1924 ; 2 vols.] (C. Knapp). Praised.

MUSÉE BELGE XXXI., Nos. 1-3 (JANUARY, 1927).

N. Hohlwein, *La Papyrologie grecque*. Inaugural lecture of course in P. at Liège. J. Meunier, *Pour une lecture candide de l'Iphigénie à Aulis. I. Le rôle de Ménelas. II. Sur un vers obscur*. M.'s reply to 538-40 is the appearance of Achilles : his hypocrisy (cp. 498-9) is a mainspring of the drama. In 521 keep *κούδεν γ' ἄχροτον* and interpret *nihil* (= *nunquam*) *non adhibitum*. P. d'Hérouville, *Virgile apiculleur*. V.'s errors and omissions : the king-bee error was not quite general, cp. Xen. *Oecon.* VII. 17. L. Herrmann, *Sénèque et le Judaïsme*. Frankly hostile, Ep. 95. 67 ; 108. 22 : ap. Aug. Civ. Dei VI. 11 (*scleratissima gens*). Id., *Sur deux MSS. bruxellois du Carmen de Ave Phoenix et un MS. du Est et Non.* G. Méautis, *Le grand Pan est mort*. Origin of

Plutarch's particular form of the legend, *de defectu orac.* 17 (cp. *de Is. et Osir.* 355e) to be sought in Egypt. *Hommage à Mgr. Bulid.*

ID. XXXI., No. 2 (sic) (APRIL, 1927).

P. Faider, *Le comique de Plaute.* Uses the natural sources of laughter, but avoids *scurrilitas*: language correct and does not pass limits of the picturesque. L. Derochette, *Essai d'interprétation de quelques périphrases de Lucrèce. Animi natura animaque potestas*, etc., not mere verbalism, but contribute to the argument. R. Scalais, *Les revenus que les Romains attendaient de l'agriculture.* Not great: agric. was praised for other reasons. J. Meunier, *L'Iphigénie à Aulis.* III. *Le Prologue.* Defends against criticisms of Parmentier. P. d'Hérouville, *Virgile apiculteur.* III.

MUSÉE BELGE. BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE.
XXXI., Nos. 1-3 (JAN., 1927).

Alverne, *Société des Amis des Catacombes.* J. Gessler, *A propos d'un MS. liégeois de saint Augustin.*

GREEK.—*Lysias*: L. Gernet and M. Bizos, *L.: tome II.*, Budé, 1926. Conscientious and useful (A. Willem). *Marcus Aurelius*: G. Loisel, *M.A. à moi-même*, Presses Universitaires, 1926, 15 fr. Good translation by an enthusiast, but should not deny persecution of Christians (G. Hinnidaels). *Plato*: M. Meunier, *La Légende de Socrate*, L'Édition d'Art, Paris, 1926, 14 fr. Cleverly written for general public (A. Willem). A. Rivaud, *P. t. X.: Timée, Critias*, Budé, 1925. Scholarly and can explain mathematics (J. Meunier). *Sophocles: Trach.*, ed. R. Cantarella, Naples, 1926, 25 lire. Favourable (A. Severyns). *Theocritus*: Ph. E. Legrand, *Eucol. Grecs I. Theocr.*, Budé, 1925. Apparatus full, if secondhand: comm. interesting (J. Hubaux).

LATIN.—*Aniimus*: N. Groen, *Lexicon Anthimeum*, diss. Amsterdam, 1926. Contribution to new dict. of med. Latin (L. Rochus). *Apuleius*: P. Medan, *Metam. XI.*, Hachette, 1925. Very useful (L. Rochus). Id., *La Latinité d'A. dans les Metam.*, 1926. Scientific work of great value: summary (L. R.). *Palladius*: H. Widstrand, *P. Studien*, diss. Uppsala, 1926. Favourable (L. R.). *Plautus*: J. P. Waltzing, *Trinummus and Trad. littéraire*, 1926-7, Champion. Favourable (P. Faider).

GENERAL.—Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, newed., *Pts. I., II.* A masterpiece of science and of printing (A. Severyns). A. Ernout, *Morphologie hist. du Latin*,² Klincksieck, 1927. Perfectly arranged and very suggestive (P. Faider). O. Riemann, *Syntaxe latine, revue par A. Ernout*, same publ., 1927. E.'s additions considerable (P. F.). E. Pais, *Hist. romaine I., fasc. 1*, Presses Univers., 1926. Summary: even specialists will be glad of this new synthesis of his many works (L. Halkin).

Id. XXXI., Nos. 4-9 (APRIL-JULY, 1927).

H. Glaesener, *Les Sources médiévales du Tasse.* Anon., *Le jubilé de l'Institut hist. belge à Rome.*

GREEK.—*Homer*: U. v. Wilamowitz, *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus*, 1927. Summary: H. question far from solution if it rests wholly on anything so subjective as appreciation of style (A. Severyns). *Plato*: J. Souillé, *P. t. XIII. 1 Lettres*, Budé, 1926. Question of authenticity well stated, if not prudently answered (A. Willem). *Sappho*: D. M. Robinson, *S. and her Influence*, Boston, 1924. Enthusiastic encomion (J. Hubaux).

LATIN.—*Ciceron*: H. Bornecque and E. Bailly, *Discours t. X. Catil.*, Budé, 1926. Favourable (L. Rochus). *Panegyricus Messalae*: J. Hammer, *Proleg. to an ed. of the P.M. The Career of M. Val. Messala*, New York, 1925. Model diss. (J. Hubaux). *Pelagius*: A. Souter, *Expositions of Thirteen Ep. of St. Paul, I., II.*, Cambridge, 1922-6. Definitive (J. de Ghellinck, S.J.). *Virgil*: G. Rohde, *De V. eclogarum forma et indole*, Berlin, 1925. Useful, especially as it insists on unity of tone (J. Hubaux).

GENERAL.—J. Sautel and L. Imbert, *Les îles romaines de la Vallée du Rhône*, Avignon, Rey, 1926, 20 fr. Well illustrated album (L. Halkin). A. Jardé, *Les Céréales dans l'Antiquité grecque. La Production*, Boccard, 1925. Favourable (R. Scalais). J. P. Waltzing, *Le crime rituel reproché aux Chrétiens du II^e siècle*,² Liège. Favourable (C. L.). [See *Mus. Belge*, Oct., 1925.] A. Delatte, *Les MSS. à Miniatures et à Ornements des Bibliothèques d'Athènes*, Liège, 1926. Favourable (C. L.). M. Delcourt, *Étude sur les Traductions des Tragiques grecs et latins en France depuis la Renaissance*, Brussels, Lamertin, 1925, 18 fr. Valuable for theories of translation (J. Hubaux). A. Moret, *Le Nil et la civil. Ég. (Évol. de l'Humanité)*, 1926. Sometimes states own views too categorically for this series (F. van de Walle). Favourable anon. notices of P. Jouguet, *L'Impérialisme mac.*, and V. Chapot, *Le Monde romain* (same publ.), and of L. Halphen, *Les Barbares des grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes turques du XI^e Siècle*, Alcan, 1926, 40 fr. F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique t. I.-III.*, Geuthner, 1925, 40 fr. suisses.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.
(JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1927.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—W. Schadewaldt, *Mono-log und Selbstgespräch. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte der griechischen Tragödie* [Berlin, 1926, Weidmann. Pp. 270] (Körte). The most valuable research on Greek Tragedy since T. v. Wilamowitz' *Dramatische Technik des Sophokles*. Contains far more than title suggests, including detailed treatment of the whole development of Greek Tragedy.—*Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt. Vol. VII. Indices ad Philonis Alexandrini opera. Pars I.* Comp. J. Leisegang [Berlin, 1926, de Gruyter. Pp. viii+338] (Stählin). Contains Index nominum, Index locorum

Veteris Testamenti, and Index verborum (to ζωώδης). Reviewer criticises inclusion of Index fontium in Index nominum, and notes that Index verborum only has 'vocabula Philonis philosophiae et theologiae propria.' An Index Graecitatis has yet to be compiled for Philo.—S. Walz, *Die geschichtlichen Kenntnisse des Lucian* [Diss. Tübingen, 1921. Pp. 122] (Richtsteig). Thorough piece of work.—B. A. van Groningen, *Hellenisme op vreemden boden* [Inaug. Lecture, Groningen, 1925. Pp. 20] (Kraemer). Reviewer gives very full summary of G.'s lecture, which is chiefly concerned with the Greeks in Egypt. Very instructive, and suggests stimulating problems.—A. J. Trannoy, *Marc-Aurèle, Pensées. Texte établi et traduit. Préface d' Aimé Puech* [Paris, 1925], 'Les Belles Lettres.' Pp. xxviii+xxvi+148] (Ammon). Text shows penetrating knowledge of subject matter and language; handy critical apparatus. Welcome Index nominum and Index auctorum; but reviewer misses Index rerum memorabilium. Masterly preface by Puech.

LATIN LITERATURE.—L. Castiglioni, *Studi intorno alle 'Storie Filippiche' di Giustino* [Naples, 1925, Rondinelle e Loffredo. Pp. 152] (Klotz). Comprehensive account of grammar and style of Justinus, together with an attempt to estimate more exactly his dependence on Trogus. A valuable contribution; but reviewer misses discussion of J.'s vocabulary.—A. Petersson, *De epitoma Iustini quaestiones criticae* [Uppsala, 1926. Pp. xii+114] (Klotz). Rich store of critical observations on the peculiarities of J.'s language. Valuable contribution both to textual criticism and to history of Latin language.

HISTORY.—E. Hanslik, E. Kohn, E. G. Klauber, and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Einleitung und Geschichte des alten Orients* (*Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Teil I.*) [Gotha-Stuttgart, 1925, Perthes. Pp. xvi+246: one map and one chronological table] (Gustavs). Geographical and prehistorical introductions by Hanslik and Kohn, followed by L.-H.'s history of the ancient East (Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persian empire). Though inevitably sketchy in parts, it misses nothing of importance; full of life and up-to-date.—V. Ehrenberg, *Neugründung des Staates. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Spartas und Athen im 6. Jahrhundert* [München, 1925, Beck. Pp. ix+134] (Lenschau). Deals with (i.) Lycurgus, (ii.) Cleisthenes. Reviewer agrees more completely with the second part than

with the first.—B. Kübler, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts* [Leipzig, 1925, Deichert. Pp. x+459] (Grupe). Will be most welcome both to teachers and to students. Very readable text; notes deal fully with sources and bibliography.—Kromayer-Veith, *Schlachtenatlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Lieferung 4, Griechische Abteilung. I. Von Marathon bis Chaeronea* [Leipzig, 1926, Wagner u. Debes. 5 sheets and 38 columns of text], and J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder. Bausteine zu einer antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Bd. 4, Lieferung 2: I. Perserkriege Teil 5. II. Peloponnesischer Krieg und 4. Jahrhundert* [Berlin, 1926, Weidmann] (Grosse). Monumental work. Research will go ahead and produce new results, but it will have to be founded upon K.-V. as on a 'rocher de bronze.' Fairly long review.—E. v. Dobschütz, *Der Apostel Paulus. I. Seine weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung* [Halle, 1926, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. Pp. 64 and 21 illustrations] (Posselt). D. has been very successful in drawing a living picture of the great apostle. Long review.

GRAMMAR.—H. C. Nutting, *The Latin Conditional Sentence* [Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1925. Pp. 185] (Klotz). The treatment of impossible conditions is of especial importance.—F. Müller, *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* [Göttingen, 1926, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. Pp. vii+583] (Stürmer). Indispensable to Comparative and Classical philologists, even if M.'s views cannot everywhere be accepted. A weakness is the arrangement by hypothetical forms, a good feature the attempt to trace the actual history of each Italic word.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—O. Frödin and A. W. Persson, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d'Asine, 1922-1924* [Leipzig, 1925, Harrassowitz. Pp. 71 and 48 plates] (Karo). Swedish work at Asine represents the highwater-mark of modern archaeological method; a most welcome feature is that publication keeps pace with discovery.

ETHNOLOGY.—A. Byhan, A. Haberlandt, and M. Haberlandt, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde in zwei Bänden. Bd. II. Zweiter Teil: Europa und seine Randgebiete* [Stuttgart, 1926, Strecker u. Schröder. Pp. xxiv+1154; 43 plates and 708 illustrations] (Lehmann). Cannot be too warmly recommended. Contains a wealth of material, often quite unknown, and reversing traditional views about growth of civilisation of European peoples.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

March 11, 1927.

SIRS,

Will you permit me to deny in the *Classical Review* a statement made by the reviewer of my book, *Troy and Peonia*, in your February number? Your reviewer says that I convert Hector 'into a shadowy avatar

of Hades.' This is quite untrue. The whole point of my discussion in the chapter on Trojan Names in the *Iliad* is to show their historical character. I mention the fact noted by others—that there are names in the Trojan royal house that are also the names of chthonian deities, but I do not identify the bearers with those deities. Many people have the names of saints, but that does not make them one with the

saints whose names they bear. I have nowhere suggested that Hector is Hades. The discussion of the names Echelaos-Hektor was continued by me in a paper on the alleged worship of the Trojan Hector in Boeotia. This paper was printed in the *Classical Quarterly*, 1926, 179 f.

I have no wish to enter into a controversy about other views of mine which are the objects of your reviewer's attack. A statement of my position which is absolutely incorrect in point of fact should, I think, be brought to the attention of the same public as that which the review reaches. I may add that your reviewer gives a wrong impression in attributing to me as reprehensible temerity the theory of the connexion of Artemis Basileia, who receives agrarian offerings, and Pheraia, to whom human sacrifice was offered. The identification of Artemis Basileia and Bendis, who had the offering of human sacrifice, has been accepted by many scholars (see, among others, Farnell, *Cults etc.*, IV. 474). And the Bendis-Hekate-Brimo connexion is also generally acknowledged (Farnell, *loc. cit.*, and *Cults etc.*, IV., pp. 507 f.).

There are other points in the summary

denunciation of your reviewer that appear to me inaccurate, but I ask space only to reply to the actually invented view imputed to me.

I am, yours, etc.,

GRACE H. MACURDY,
Professor of Greek in Vassar
College.

To the Editors of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIRS,

In your kindly notice of *Reliquiae A. D. Godley*, May number, pp. 49-50, you question (apparently) A.D.G.'s use of the word *cab* as the translation of ἐρμήνευσιν. The *N.E.D.*, however, gives (sb.⁴) : 'A translation clandestinely used by a student in getting up his lessons : a crib.'

I was not quite sure in reading your notice whether you realised that the whole of the English version of these iambics is A.D.G.'s, and not the work of his humble editor.

I remain, Sirs,
Yours faithfully,

May 24, 1927. C. R. L. FLETCHER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Abstracts of dissertations approved for the Ph.D., M.Sc. and M.Litt. degrees in the University of Cambridge for the academical year 1925-1926. Pp. 73. Cambridge: University Press, 1927. Paper.

Adams (C. D.) *Demosthenes and his influence.* Pp. 184. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) London: Harrap, 1927. Cloth, 5s. net.

Adams (M. A.) *The Latinity of the Letters of Saint Ambrose.* Pp. xviii + 140. (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, vol. xii.) Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1927. Paper.

Allen (J. T.) *Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and their Influence.* Pp. xii + 206; 24 illustrations. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927. Cloth, \$2.

Appleton (R. B.) *Euripides the Idealist.* Pp. xx + 206. London and Toronto: Dent, 1927. Cloth, 6s. net.

Ashby (T.) *The Roman Campagna in classical times.* Pp. 256, 48 illustrations, map. London: Ernest Benn, 1927. Cloth, 21s. net.

Bartoccini (R.) *Guida di Lepcis (Leptis Magna).* Pp. 125; illustrations. *Guida di Sabratha.* Pp. 79; illustrations. *Calza* (G.) *Il Teatro Romano di Ostia.* Pp. 32; illustrations. Rome: Società Editrice d' Arte Illustrata. Paper, 15, 12, and 4 lire.

Beazley (J. D.) *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Great Britain*: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Pp. xi + 52; 1 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press (London: Milford), 1927. Boards, 18s. net.

Bethe (E.) *Die Sage vom troischen Kriege.* (Homer / Dichtung und Sage. III. Band.) Pp. vi + 194. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927. Cloth, 12 R.-M. (unbound, 10 R.-M.).

Bonner (R. J.) *Lawyers and litigants in ancient Athens.* Pp. xi + 276. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927. Cloth.

Bornecque (H.) and *Rabaud* (G.) *Cicéron. Discours.* Tome V. Seconde action contre Verres. Livre IV. Texte établi par H. B. et traduit par G. R. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1927. Paper.

Bréhier (E.) *Histoire de la Philosophie.* Tome I: L'Antiquité et le Moyen Age. II: Période hellénistique et romaine. Pp. 261-525. Paris: Alcan, 1927. Paper, 18 fr.

Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé. No. 15. Avril, 1927: No. 16, Juillet, 1927.

Burckhardt (G.) *Die Akteinteilung in der neuen griechischen und in der römischen Komödie.* Pp. 60. Basel: Basler Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1927. Paper.

Burger (C. P.) 'Aere perennius.' *Scherfs en Ernst in de Oden van Horatius.* Pp. xii + 336. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1926. Paper, 3 fl.

Calhoun (G. M.) *The growth of criminal law in ancient Greece.* Pp. x + 149. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1927. Cloth, 15s. net.

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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER, 1927

DIOUNYSIS, GUARDIAN OF THE DITHRERA, AND DIONYSOS DITHYRAMBOS.

IN C.R. XXXVI., pp. 11 ff., it was pointed out that the foreign word διθύραμβος, and the thing which it signified, were brought to Corinth by Arion of Lesbos; that other early evidence connected the διθύραμβος with the sea-route from Asia Minor to the Saronic Gulf; that the διθύραμβος was regularly set to Phrygian music; and that a recently discovered Phrygian inscription contained the word διθρέρα, 'tomb,' giving an obvious etymology for διθύραμβος, for which no sane 'Greek' etymology had ever been suggested. It might have been added that Euripides, in the *Bacchae*, derived the Dionysus in whose service he had laboured for close on fifty years, not from Thrace but from Lydia and Phrygia.¹ This theory, involving the ultimate origin of the Greek drama in Anatolian grave ritual, and establishing the kinship of the ἔξαρχοντες τὸν διθύραμβον of the *Poetics* with the θρήνων ἔξαρχοι of *Iliad* XXIV. 721, set the stage for a handsome *anagnorisis* between Dionysus and the late Sir William Ridgeway; but Ridgeway was not convinced, and the writer took his advice to think over the theory for a year before publishing it. To Ridgeway, indeed, who had already denied the original and exclusive association of the dithyramb with Dionysus, a derivation which seemed reasonable in itself might well have appealed. For the writer, and doubtless for others, a stumbling-block in the way of the derivation of διθύραμβος from διθρέραμβος was that it involved a Phrygian or Anatolian Dionysus as guardian of the grave. For such a phase in the history of the god Dionysus, natural as it seemed to the student of Phrygian religion, there was no direct evidence. The name of Dionysus was a stranger to the tablets of Boghaz Kōi. This

in itself was not surprising, for the Thracian associations of the god pointed rather to a Thrako-Phrygian connexion. But the Phrygian inscriptions were as silent as the Boghaz Kōi tablets. And so the Dionysus of tragedy remained the original wine-god from Thrace, and the dithyramb remained the Peloponnesian chorus chanted to him in that capacity. I am not aware that the origin of διθύραμβος in διθρέραμβος has been accepted, or even rejected, by anybody.²

A pretty tombstone found in 1925 at Baghlija, on the territory of Orcistus in north-eastern Phrygia, is about to be published as No. 413 in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. I., the first publication of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor. The inscription on this tombstone runs as follows:

Ἄνρ. Μητρόφελος Οὐερούστου καὶ Μα.
via Ἀρτιόχου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀπτη καὶ
Οὐερούνη τέκνων δώρους καὶ
ἔντριτος μητῆρις χάριν (leaf) 105

* This article was printed before the appearance of Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*. To have reduced so acute and so stern a critic of 'origin theories' to suspension of judgment (pp. 16, 419) is no small feat. His outstanding objections are, I think, three: (1) The difficulty of deriving διθύραμbos from a Phrygian word διθρέρα, which must correspond morphologically to a Greek *διθύρα. I must apologise for not having pointed out earlier that in the rude verse in which it occurs διθρέρα must be scanned as a dactyl. (2) The difficulty that Dionysus had no association with grave ritual in Greece. This raises a larger question than can be discussed here. Let two sentences suffice: Assuming, as the absence of his name from the Boghaz Kōi records makes probable, that D. was originally a Thrako-Phrygian (vegetation) deity, his association with grave ritual was inevitable in Anatolia, but not in Greece. Assuming, on the other hand, that D. was originally a local version of the Anatolian Peasant-god, he had as little need to appear in Greece with all his Anatolian attributes as, e.g., the Anatolian Artemis. (3) The lateness of the evidence. This objection is, I hope, met below.

¹ Cf. also Athenaeus XIV. 626a.

5 η σεμοντ κρουμανει κακε
αδδακει αυρω Ουεραοιας τηγ.
γεγαριμενο(?) ειτου τουρ Ουανα-
κταν κε ουρανιον ισγεικετ Διουνσιν.
και Αύρ. Σώζορτι Κανκαρου άνδρι της Ουεραοιης.

The text (impression, two photographs, and copy) is certain throughout. The last letter but two in l. 8 was copied doubtfully as *epsilon*; the impression is decisive for *sigma*. L. 9 is a later addition.

This inscription dates from the later half of the third century A.D.; like the great majority of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, it consists of a dedication in Greek followed by a *devotio* in Phrygian. The protasis of the *devotio* is of the stock type, with the exception that *αωρω Ουεραοιας* is added to *κνουμανει*, proving once for all that this word means 'tomb.' The apodosis clearly means 'let him be devoted to the Lord (of the Underworld) and he shall . . . the heavenly Diounsis.' On *γεγαριμενος*, compounded here with the particle or preposition (*ε*)*τι*, elsewhere prefixed to *τετικμενος*, see *J.H.S.* XLVI., 1926, p. 24, No. LXXIX., where it is shown that the word is translated by, or Phrygianised from, the Greek (*ἐν*)*κεχαρισμένος*. As between *Πουρου ανακταν* and *πουρ Ουανακταν* the balance is perhaps tilted in favour of the latter by the personal name *Ουαναξος* or *Ούαναξω* (*J.H.S.* XIX., 1899, p. 300, No. 223 and references). Just as the nature goddess was called *Favaσσα* in Pamphylia, so *πουρ Ουανακταν* corresponds to Greek (*παρά?*) *ἀνακτα*, the Old Phrygian *Favaκταν*, the King of the dead, graecised as *Μῆν Τύραννος* or *Μῆν καταχθόνιος*. But *Πουρου* may be the god's name (*cf.* *Καρου*, *Τιαρου*, etc.), and *ανακταν* his title. The division *ουρανιον ισγεικετ Διουνσιν* is not open to doubt. Whatever *ισγεικετ* means (*ἐνοχος ἔσται?* *ἔξει πρός?*) the Greek¹ adjective *ουρανιον* in this context shows that *Διουνσιν* is the name of a second god who is invoked to protect the grave.

This inscription dates between 250 and 300 A.D. (see *J.H.S.* XLVI., 1926, p. 22 and references). Is *Διουνσιν* a

broken-down form, due to Phrygian pronunciation or rural illiteracy, of the Greek *Διόνυσος*? The answer to this question involves a consideration of the linguistic and religious character of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions. Their vocabulary and the variety of their syntactical forms show that these inscriptions represent a living and spoken language, although both vocabulary (*e.g.* *κακον*, *κακουν*, *κακεν*, *κακε*) and syntax (*e.g.* *κε* is both interposed and enclitic) naturally show the influence of Greek. They all date from the later third century, and have been found mainly on the Imperial estates in eastern Phrygia. The writer has argued elsewhere² that this revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language for a religious purpose was part of the anti-Christian revivalist policy of the Imperial owners of those estates, and falls into line with the other activities of the Tekmoreian Association (on which see Ramsay, *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 305 ff.; *J.R.S.* VIII., pp. 107 ff.). In spite of a slight admixture of Greek forms, the language of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions bears a strong resemblance to the Old Phrygian texts of the monument country and of Euyuk (see especially *J.H.S.* XXXIII., 1913, p. 101, No. LXXI.).

In one respect these inscriptions are strikingly conservative.

To avoid the appearance of special pleading, I will quote a paragraph written in a different context in 1923:³ 'It is an interesting fact that the Old Anatolian deities are practically never called by their Anatolian names in the Graeco-Roman epigraphy of Asia Minor. Ma, Ba, Cybele, Agdistis, Attis, Papas, etc., the characteristic names in the Old Anatolian religion, hardly appear, or do not appear at all, in the local Greek inscriptions. Yet there can be no doubt that those names continued in use. The case of Attis may be taken as typical. This god is frequently mentioned on inscriptions belonging to his imported cult in Greece and Italy; in

¹ Ούρανος has no 'etymology,' and may be an Anatolian loan-word. Ουρανος may quite well be Phrygian (Fraser).

² *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, VIII., 1924, p. 352.

³ *Journal of the Manchester E. and O. Soc.* No. XI., 1924, p. 23.

his Anatolian home, so far as I know, he is [possibly, but not certainly] mentioned on one Lydian-Greek inscription. This fact calls for explanation, and the following explanation may be offered. The old name of the god, the name of power, was used by speakers of the native languages; by speakers of Greek it was used only in the mysteries. This was in itself a reason for its suppression on public monuments; a further reason for the use of Greek divine names in the public and official cult (the one almost exclusively represented in epigraphy) is that Greek was the official language of the cities of Asia Minor and the language of all educated people. The Lydian inscription referred to above [if it mentions Attis] mentions Attis in connexion with the mysteries. That the god who is called *Mēn* (which in this connexion may be classed with Greek names) in Greek dedications and curse-formulae in Phrygia continued to be called Attis by those who used the Phrygian language is definitely proved by the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, in many of which the violator of the tomb is devoted to Attis—*Attie tetikmenos eitou*. Readers of Demosthenes will remember his description (in the *De Corona*, § 260) of the Phrygian mysteries as practised at Athens, in which the initiate is said to dance to the refrain “Hyes Attes Attes Hyes”; this contemptuous description is of value as showing that in one case the native Anatolian name of a god was invoked in the mysteries. From this instance we may confidently deduce the general practice.’

The deities mentioned in the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions so far discovered are Wanax, Diounsis, Attis, Ma, Astia,

Ba (or Pountasba), Mitraphata, Enstaradoumth, and very doubtfully Gdika, sometimes summed up as δεως κε ζεμέλως, the θεοι ούρανοι καὶ καταχθόνιοι of the Greek *devotiones*.

These, with the very doubtful exception of Gdika, are non-Greek, and Anatolian or Phrygian names. It would be contrary to all analogy to treat Διουνσίς as a broken-down form of the Greek word Διόνυσος. To those who incline to this view I would recommend a study of the Imperial religious epigraphy of Phrygia; personally I know no instance of a god's name or title being bowdlerised. Diounsis is clearly the Phrygian name of the god¹ worshipped by the Greeks as Dionysos (originally Διώνυσος), and by the Thracians as Zonnyxos. To inquire whether Dionysus originally migrated from Thrace into Phrygia or from Phrygia into Thrace is neither profitable nor for our purpose necessary. It suffices for us that he was a late arrival in Greece, and that διθύραμβος was both his title and his hymn.

We now know that the Phrygians appealed to a god called Διουνσίς to protect the διθύρεπα.² The historians of the drama may be left to draw their own conclusions.

W. M. CALDER.

¹ It is not necessarily the exact form of the name as used in Phrygia early in the first millennium B.C., although the other divine names used in the Neo-Phrygian texts preserve the ancient forms. These texts even go out of their way to introduce the famous βεκός of Hdt. II. 2.

² The ordinary prose words for the ‘tomb’ and ‘monument’ are κνούμας and μαντίκη. The form διθύρεπα occurs in a verse inscription, and is probably ancient. Dithyrambos as a title points to *Dithraran-bas, ‘Lord of the Tomb’; cf. Lycabas, Korybas, etc.

ELECTRA AGAIN.

MR. OWEN is a sympathetic critic. When he calls Electra's triumph at her mother's death 'most poignant' in its contrast with her loving nature, he drives straight at the heart of Schlegel's misbegotten progeny, the 'happy matricide.' He sheathes his weapon, and the monster whispers, 'Yes, the matricide was in the story. Sophocles could

not ignore it, and, of course, he felt the horror. But he didn't mean you to "dwell on it." The vengeance is directed mainly at Aegisthus, whose arrest and execution, not the matricide (a mere *parergon*, I assure you), "crows the whole." The Chorus tells you, "All is well." Why doubt it? Don't be modern, psychological, Euripidean.'

For the moment Mr. Owen seems to waver. I have hopes that he will yet obey his own good instinct and defy the fiend. It is not true that in the structure of this play the shadow of the coming matricide is negligible. Hint after sinister hint leads up in rhythmical progression to the sudden horror. In her monody Electra tells of the foul murder done 'by my own mother and her bedfellow Aegisthus,' then invokes the Furies, 'Come! Avenge our father's murder.' In the Kommos she repeats the curse, invoking Zeus (209). It shocks the Chorus. Why the dual and the plural if she did not think of Clytaemnestra, but Aegisthus only? 'If they pay not death for death,' she says, 'it is the end of modesty and righteousness.' She bids Chrysothemis pray for vengeance, 'May Orestes, living, trample on his father's foes' (456). To the interpretation of that line the reference to Clytaemnestra's death in 437 is not irrelevant. Finally, in the clash of mother and child, Electra, under stress of passion, cries, 'If life for life is to be taken, you yourself will be the first to die!' (582); and then, 'You say I cherish'd him to kill you. Yes, if I could I would!' That is the climax. *σοὶ τρέφειν μάστορα*, she says, and means it. There is no linguistic evidence for Mr. Owen's view. Having said it, she recognises in herself with shame her mother's murderous spirit.

The Queen prays. The Paedagogue appears. Electra's hopes and Clytaemnestra's fears are banished.

That is the first dramatic series. The second is parallel in form, but different in effect. First a monologue, 'Orestes dead! There is no hope of vengeance. Let me die!' Then a Kommos as before. But now the Chorus take the lead. 'Where are the bolts of Zeus?' They rouse Electra. 'Amphiaraus was betrayed to death, but the fell woman . . .' 'Perished,' Electra answers; 'for he had an avenger.' Mr. Owen's mild interpretation, 'overpowered,' ignores the fact of Eriphyle's story and destroys the point. To Chrysothemis Electra says, 'Help me to kill Aegisthus!' Here at last distinction is made, and for good reason. But the Chorus mean by διδύμαν ἐλοῦσ' 'Ερωτίν, 'She will kill

them both!' The scene with Orestes is a revelation of Electra's love, contrasted sharply with the corresponding scene—the interview with Clytaemnestra. Loving grief at first, then loving joy, for this brief moment banish hate. The Paedagogue breaks in. The men go, and Electra follows with a prayer which terribly reminds us of her mother's impious appeal, 'Help us, Apollo, in this enterprise!' Does not the ambiguity enhance our apprehensive pity while the Chorus, weaving phrases from the *Agamemnon* (966 ff.) with the echoes of their own first Stasimon, await the crowning act?

The choral introduction would alone suffice to mark this moment as the climax. All that went before led up to it. What follows is the tragic aftermath. Clytaemnestra's cries, Electra's frightful answers, and the meeting with Orestes when the deed is done, are 'the most poignant thing in the play.'

The poet blundered strangely if he meant to make the last scene happy. After each climax of hate throughout the play there comes reaction. What is the sequel here? Lights or no lights, the dead body of the murdered mother lies before us as a silent witness while we watch—with fear and pity, I repeat—the Hubris of Electra, hating still and unashamed at last, but also sick of life's futility. 'A little time! With lives fast bound to wrong . . . , and the vain hectoring of the lost Orestes, mad, not with remorse, but with the lust of killing. 'That should be the way with all who think to go beyond the law. Kill them! The world will be less villainous!' Is this 'the attitude' of a 'stern, unquestioning' judge? Let him look to himself. It ill becomes a matricide. *κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄτα*. As Jebb said, no optimistic phrases from the Chorus can avail to banish memories of Aeschylus.

Aegisthus' words (1498),

ἢ τῶς ἀνάγκη τήρει τὴν στέγην ιδεῖν
τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα Πελοπιδῶν κακά;

'need mean no more,' says Mr. Owen, than that 'as the House has seen the death of Clytaemnestra, so it should see his own.' The phrase τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα seems, he says, 'to have

been familiar.' Yes, every word here has its memories (see, for instance, *Ag.* 1185). Sophocles often used familiar words for their associations, making a phrase do duty for a paragraph, painting allusively, as Aeschylus did, but on a smaller canvas with a finer brush. *Ion* 7 and *Helena* 14 will teach us something. Apollo prophesies, and Theonoe, such is her virtue, knows, 'what is and is to be.' This is the Attic version of the words which Homer made immortal when he told how Agamemnon scorned 'the best of prophets, him who knew τά τ' ἔόντα τά τ' ἔσσομενα πρό τ' ἔόντα.' So much, by the way, for the definite article: a poet's lines must scan. 'The present and the future ills of the Pelopids' are not, by Attic standards, one day's work, nor yet one generation's. All the evils of this House, haunted by shame and anguish since Myrtillus was drowned, are present to the mind of this doomed man. He is fey, and speaks the truth. Not for nothing did the poet make Electra cry, 'In god's name, brother, do not let him talk!' If you think the 'hint' too 'vague' to be artistic, wait and hear Orestes' answer:

ΟΡ. τὰ γοῦν σ'· ἔγα σοι μάρτις εἷμ τῶνδ' ἄκρος.
ΑΕΓ. δλλ' οὐ παρρέαν τὴν τέχηντο ἐκβιτασσα.

What answer is there to that?

I submit that my interpretation is accordant not with modern feeling only, but with normal Greek linguistic usage, with the rigour of the tragic situation, with those hints of a misreading of the oracles of God—a tragic *āμαρτία* indeed—which have been sounding, φωνάεντα συνετοῖσι, from the prologue to the epilogue, and with the ancient wisdom which was not exclusively Euripidean. Sophocles meant his words to bear their natural meaning.

So he did in that earlier passage where the Chorus, in my view, were 'out of their reckoning.' They hailed the Queen's dream as an omen 'breathing joy.' They were full of θράσος. Caution is a better guide for would-be prophets. Vengeance would come, they said, with the tramp of an army—πολύχειρ καὶ πολύπονος (488)—or did they simply mean 'swift to pursue and strong to strike'? Yes, if πολύχειρ in

normal usage means 'strong-handed' and not 'many-handed.' Yes, if adjectives made out of πολύς and a noun have normally that shade of meaning. Yes, if Xerxes, when he went to battle πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτης, was a 'handy man and a great sailor.' I prefer, with Blomfield, *Pers.* 83, to think he marched with a great army, sailed with a strong fleet. Add Hdt. VII. 12, Thuc. II. 77, Eur. *Heracleid.* 157, Hesych. πολυχειρία · πλῆθος ἐργαζομένων καὶ ἀνύντων.

οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἀν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος εἴναι, said the sagacious Chorus in the *Agamemnon* (1122-3): 'I am no great judge of signs, but this looks bad.' The phrase, we see, had haunted Sophocles. Why should we torture language to acquit his Chorus of the human blindness which he emphasised by the last words of play after play? Think of *Ajax* 1499; *O.T.* 1529, 'Don't congratulate too soon'; *Antig.* 1350, 'Don't boast too soon'; *Trach.* 1270, τὰ μὲν οὖν μέλλοντ' οὔδεις ἐφορᾶ, τὰ δὲ νῦν . . . Hyllus sees only the shame and agony, not the destined apotheosis. The *Oedipus at Colonus* ends with comfort, 'Weep no more, ἔχει τάδε κύρος.' It ends also with the departure of Antigone to meet a fate unknown to her, but known to us who know the sequel. The Chorus in the *Electra* sees the material victory, and hopes loyally for the best.

We are all human. Mr. Owen thinks our darkened stage and gloomy atmosphere recalled the end of the *Electra* of Euripides. But Euripides ended the play with a bright theophany. We ourselves—no one knows better than the Cambridge actors and producers—missed something of the Sophoclean reserve. We had no masks, and young men's faces are not easily schooled to hide emotion by this world's technique. It is a generous fault. Yet had the play been acted in the air of Athens behind masks, impassive, enigmatical, but with a fixed expression, be it noted, by no means of satisfaction (see *El.* 1310 ff.), the imagination might have still responded to the poet's own hints of the chaos ruling in those tragic souls.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

BUCOLICA.

THEOCR. 7. 59:

ἀλκυόνες, γλαυκαῖς Νηρῆσι ταὶ τὰ μάλιστα
δρυίχων ἐφίληθεν, δοσις τέ περ ἐξ ἀλὸς ἄγρα.

'Dearest of sea birds to the Nereids.' The sense is well enough, but the limitation in 60 is no ornament. Virgil's *dilectae Thetidi alcyones* would not be improved even in sense by writing *dilectissimae uolucrum marinorum*. Reflecting, therefore, that there are mortals who, after all, have more cause than any Nereid to thank the Halcyons, and that Theocritus has defined one of them with the words *ἐξ ἀλὸς φίλων* (*Beren.* 2; cf. *Moschus* 5. 10), I concluded that we should write *δοσις*, 'dearest of birds to Nereids and to fisherfolk,' to the improvement both of the sense and, unless I am mistaken, of the phrasing.¹ I did not expect to be first in the field with this proposal, nor am I. It was made, though for other reasons, by Greverus in 1830, and again by Adert in 1843. Twenty-two years later Fritzsche announced that they would not have made it if they had remembered the note in Meineke's second edition, and since then the suggestion has been no more seen of men.

Meineke's second edition appeared in 1836 (so Greverus, at any rate, may be excused for not remembering it); it contains nothing which is not repeated in the third, where you may read that *τέ περ* with relatives, though much less common than *πέρι τε*, has parallels, and need not be altered. And it is true that Greverus and Adert were driven to write *δοσις*, as Valckenaer and Brunck were driven to other expedients, by the supposed difficulty of *τέ*, and Meineke's note removes that ground for alteration. In my opinion, however, *δοσις* deserves consideration upon the quite different grounds given above.

In Meineke's three examples of *τέ περ*, *τέ* is not a copula, for he is only concerned with the words as appendages of a relative. Whether there are examples in which it is a copula I neither know nor greatly care. Elsewhere in T. *τε* with *δοσις* is always a copula

(15. 117, 24. 112), and he does not mind separating *περ* from the word to which it belongs (2. 34, 5. 52, 7. 4). If, as I think, he here wrote *δοσις τέ περ*, I conceive him to have needed no further authority for doing so. And with so many feminine nouns about, the change of gender was almost inevitable.

Theocr. 7. 69:

καὶ πλουτοῦ μαλακῶς μεμακέντος Ἀγεάνακτος
ἀνταύτου κυλίκεσσι καὶ τρύγα χείλος ἐρεῖδων.

Those editors who retain *αὐταῖσιν*, though they sometimes explain how the words are to be taken, do not state what they think the meaning to be; and some of their explanations at any rate are incompatible with my view of the sense. I take the dative to belong to the first participle, and the sense to be: Remembering Aegeanax in the very act of drinking, and behaving as though he had left a kiss within the cup. And I think we should probably accept *αὐταῖς ἐν* from Valckenaer.

It may be said that the actions of drinking and kissing are too dissimilar for the resemblance to be thus assumed. They did not seem dissimilar to Ben Jonson, or to the poet who wrote: 'The life of all mortals in kissing should pass, | Lip to lip while we're young—then the lip to the glass.' Ben Jonson was paraphrasing Philostratus (*Epist.* 33), who uses similar language elsewhere (32, 60), and the idea is almost a commonplace in later Greek erotic: *Anth. Pal.* V. 170, 260, 294, 304; XII. 133; Bion I. 45 ff.; [Luc.] *Lucius* 8. I am not required by this view to establish that the verb *ἐρείδειν* could be used of kissing; but it is in fact so used at *Anth. Pal.* V. 254. 11, and, if the aor. part. *ἐρίσας* is defensible, at V. 13. 3.

Theocr. 13. 23:

ἀλλὰ διεκάχε, βαθὺν δὲ εἰσέδραμε Φᾶσιν,
αιεῖς ως μέγα λαῖτμα, ἀφ' οὐ τότε χοιράδες λαταρ.

The meaning of *λαῖτμα* is discussed by lexicographers and by the scholiasts on *Od.* 7. 35 and *Ap. Rhod.* I. 1299, but the discussions merely reveal their ignorance. In Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns* it occurs eleven times—twice with a simple demonstrative, else-

¹ The aor. *ἐφίληθεν* is paralleled by 15. 100, Ar. *Ran.* 229, both adduced by Cholmeley.

where always, as here, with *μέγα*, and usually also with a genitive—*ἄλος* or *θαλάσσης*. Apollonius has it in three places;¹ after him it perhaps disappears again until the fifth century A.D. The Homeric passages do not enable us to decide the precise meaning, but the frequency of its occurrence in contexts dealing with the perils of the sea suggests either breadth or depth as the idea connoted. Now in the strait of the Symplegades the depth of the water is immaterial, its lack of breadth notorious; and I cannot suppose that *λαῖτρα* is the object of *διεξάγεν*. Nor, if we translate 'as an eagle sweeps over the sea' (or the like), is the figure appropriate to the Argo squeezing between the rocks. These objections seem to me to compel us to connect the *μέγα λαῖτρα* with Phasis, and therefore to reject Jacobs' transposition of the second halves of the lines.² Lobeck (*Ajax*², p. 269), it is true, requires of me evidence that *λαῖτρα* could be used of a river by poets earlier than Nonnus, and I have none to give. But *λαῖτρα* is, outside Homer, a very rare word, and equally I know no evidence that justifies its use for a narrow strait; and, short of desperate remedies, one of these two it must be. For Phasis it may be said, too, that among the explanations of *λαῖτρα* given in antiquity are *χάσμα* and *βάθος*; and if that is what T. thought it meant, he might well have set *μέγα λαῖτρα* in apposition to *βαθὺν Φᾶσιν*. I should punctuate, therefore, with commas after *Φᾶσιν* and *ως*.

Theocr. 14. 43:

ἀνός θηρ λέγεται τις 'ἔβα καὶ ταῦρος δὲ' θλα.

So V Tr. The other MSS. and the scholia vary between *ἔβακεν ταῦρος* and *ἔβα κένταυρος*. 'Also passt *καὶ* vorzüglich,' says Wilamowitz (*Textg.*, p. 41²); "auch der Stier ist in den Wald gegangen," sagt man, wenn jemand auf Nimmerwiedersehen fort ist.' Perhaps; but Cynisca has not gone to the wood, and I do not feel *καὶ* to be in place myself. *κένταυρος* is out of court by reason of Soph. *O.T.* 476 ff., and the

evidence apparently points to *ἔβα καὶ ταῦρος*, which might perhaps be defended as potential—'may' or 'must have gone.' The treatment of this construction in the grammars is extremely confused,³ and the decisive examples are usually emended (*Od.* 4. 546; Soph. *Phil.* 572; Eur. *I.T.* 385; *Hel.* 587: see Professor Pearson's note on the last passage). Eur. *I.A.* 1582 seems, however, to show that it is Greek of a kind, and there is perhaps a quorum in more respectable writers. In any case *ἀλος* is, I think, 'fable' rather than proverb; and the second half of the line rather allusion than quotation: 'you know the old tale: the bull's in the wood by now.'

Theocr. 17. 53-7:

These lines have been so curiously misunderstood by Droysen (*Hellenismus* III. 1. 324¹), Legrand (*Etude*, p. 60), and Cholmeley, that it may be worth remarking that they are merely T.'s transition from Ptolemy Soter and his wife to Ptolemy Philadelphus. The meaning is, 'sons inherit their fathers' qualities,' and it is plainly marked by the careful disposition of epithets—*λαοφόνον . . . ἀκοντιστάν . . . αἰχμητά, αἰχμητά.*

Theocr. 22. 60:

Π. Θλοις, καὶ ξερλω κε τυχών πάλιν οικαδ' ικάνους.
Α. μήτε σύ με ξενίζε, τά τ' εξ ἐμεῦ οὐκ εν ἔτοιμῳ.

Commentaries do not quote the precise parallel, Ar. *Vesp.* 652 B. ἀτὰρ ὁ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίη—Φ. παῖσαι καὶ μὴ πατέριζε. Μή με ξενίζε surely means 'drop this talk of *ξένος* (54) and *ξένια*.' The idiom, like the dialogue in which it occurs and much else in 22, is unepic; and perhaps for that reason T. has so phrased it as to leave open the alternative, but much inferior, meaning 'never entertain me.'

Theocr. 26. 17:

πέτλως ἐκ ζωστῆρος ἐι τηρύαν ἐρύσαισαι.

'Girding their kirtles up above their thighs' (Edmonds), *ἐκ* being, no doubt, instrumental as at 2. 10, 7. 6; and so Vollgraff (*B.C.H.* XLVIII., p. 143).

¹ I. 1299, 4. 980, 1694; I. 1299 without adj. or gen.
² The hiatus at the weak caesura in 24 is defended by 7. 8, 22. 116, 24. 72.

³ Kühner-Gerth I. 212; Goodwin, *M.T.*, p. 82; Gildersleeve, *Synt. of Classical Gk.*, I. p. 170; F. E. Thompson, *Synt. of Attic Gk.*, p. 272.

What others think, they do not say; but I should have supposed the meaning to be, 'drawing their garments down from their belts,' far enough for decency, but not far enough to impede pursuit. The ancients are reticent about mysteries, but ceremonial exposure of the person is fairly well attested (J. Heckenbach, *de nuditate sacra*, pp. 61 ff.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II. 132²).

Theocr. *Epigr.* 18. 6.

'Koer, welche sich in Syrakus niederglassen, hatten das Denkmal des Epicharmos, der auch von Geburt ein Koer gewesen sein soll, errichtet' (Fritzsche). Epicharmus's Coan origin has been disputed; but at any rate it is with the poet, whatever his origin, and not with the god to whom the statue is dedicated, that the dedicators claim fellow-citizenship. It seems necessary, therefore, to write ὁ Βάκχε χάλκεόν νυν . . . τὸν ὁδὸν ἀνέθηκαν . . . οἵ ἄνδρα πολίταν instead of the ἀνδρὶ πολίτᾳ which stands in all texts I have consulted. *Mallem in accusativo ut cum νυν in versu tertio cohaereant* said Wordsworth's note, but his text still associated the words with τελεῖν in v. 8; and, indeed, I suspect the dative to survive by a mere oversight from texts which left that association possible or even necessary.

Moschus 2. [*Europa*] 48:

δοιού δ' ἔστασαν ἵψοι ἐπ' ὄφρύος αἰγιαλοῦ
φῶτες δολλήθην θηεύντο δὲ ποντοπόρον βοῦν.

'Etsi Sophocles, *Trach.* 512, ἀολλεῖς de duobus dixit, ubi scholiastes id καταχρηστικῶς factum adnotavit, tamen nec per se veri simile est ut duo tantum spectatores ficti fuerint, nec, si duo, ut addiderit poeta ἀολλήδην. Quare scripsi δοιού ἐπ' ὄφρύσιν αἰγιαλοῦ' (Hermann). Hermann's proposal has disappeared from modern texts of Moschus, and his two reasons for making it are perhaps not conclusive. It was in the main a third which led me to conjecture δοιού independently.

Europa's golden *τάλαρος* is decorated with four scenes, two above and two below. Above are Hermes, and Argos with the peacock springing from his blood; below, Io in bovine form crossing the sea, and Io rehumanised by Zeus on the banks of the Nile. A

τάλαρος is shaped like a large truncated funnel, and the description suggests two bands of decoration, the upper with one figure, the lower with one scene, on each side of the vessel. I do not think the decoration can be so precisely analysed as that of the cup in Theocr. 1, but one obvious question presents itself. In the lower zone, which occupies the shorter circumference of the vessel, are scenes which must take considerable space, for they include an expanse of sea and the river Nile. It is natural, therefore, to think of the scenes each occupying half the circumference, and, since they are somewhat indeterminate, to wonder how they are separated from each other.¹

If, however, we read δοιοῦ, we shall kill not only Hermann's two birds but this third also. The scene containing Io will then be flanked with the rising shores of Greece and Egypt respectively, each with its group of people; and the two groups, one on each side of the *τάλαρος*, will effectively separate the two scenes in this zone of the composition. Δοιός in the singular is not common, but has good Hellenistic authority: *Anth. Pal.* VI. 113 (Simias), VII. 89 (Callimachus), IX. 46 (Antipater Mac.). Hermann's ὄφρύσιν is perhaps an improvement, but I do not think it strictly necessary.

Moschus 2. [*Europa*] 60.

The four lines 58-61 are in some confusion, and neither Wilamowitz's *ταρσός* in 61 nor Platt's ἔξανατέλλων . . . ἀναπλώσασ' (*J. Phil.* XXXIV. 150) seems to me quite satisfactory. Perhaps we should accept the feminine participle, but read *ταρσὰ δ'* in 60; the neuter plural is not known elsewhere before Oppian and the *Anacreontica*, but various similar forms appear first in Alexandrian literature: see Kühner-Blass I. 500.

[Moschus 3.] *Epit. Bion.* 37-49.

I need not write at length on this passage, since I find that what I was to propose stands already in Hermann's text. Read, with most MSS., δ' ἐπὶ for ποτὶ in 47, and replace the full stop at

¹ I cannot agree with Wilamowitz (*Textg.*, p. 228) that two men watching a cow crossing the sea, and Zeus stroking a cow, are well-balanced pendants.

the end of 44 by a comma.¹ The ἀδονίδες and χελιδόνες of 46 then stand in rational relation to the Ἀηδών and Χελιδών of 38 f.; and at δ' in 48 means the mythological bird-men of 37-43. Hermann omits the refrain at 45, but unnecessarily. In both Theocritus' refrain-poems the refrain breaks the construction once and once only (1. 84, 2. 135).

[Moschus 4.] *Megara* 65.

'Why talk of these old sorrows?' says Alcmene. 'We are not likely to forget them, and we have wept for them before':

ἢ οὐχ ἀλισ, αἰς ἔχθμεσθα τὸ δεύτατον αἱὲν τῷ ἡμαρ γυνομένας;

And she adds apparently, though the text is problematic,² that it is no

¹ Modern editors, except Legrand in the new Budé text, have similarly perverted the sense by punctuation at Theocr. 16. 46.

² I should accept provisionally 67 δριθμηθεῖσιν (Wilamowitz), 68 θαρσοῦ (Hermann), 71 ἀγκαλῶν (Sitzler).

good summing misfortunes in a grand total.

The words in 65 must mean, I think, what Cholmeley implies: 'Are not those sorrows enough which afflict us in continual succession to the last day of our lives?' The required sense, however, is 'our present sorrows'; or, as Mr. Edmonds says, 'Are not the misfortunes which possess us enough each day as they come?' I do not see, however, what has become of τὸ δεύτατον in this version.

I think myself that τὸ δεύτατον is adverbial and belongs to ἔχθμεσθα; and I am tempted to guess that γυνομένας conceals an infinitive meaning 'to bewail'—e.g. κλαίεμεναι: 'Is it not enough to bewail day by day the sorrows with which we are most recently afflicted?' Κλαίειν seems to be the verb indicated by the context, but I am not otherwise wedded to it, for γυνομένας may be a gloss due to someone who, like Mr. Cholmeley, construed τὸ δεύτατον with ἡμαρ.

A. S. F. Gow.

THE LYRA OF ORPHEUS.

PROFESSOR J. J. SAVAGE has recently drawn attention to a number of unpublished scholia on Virgil contained in Parisinus lat. 7930, and has brought to light from them one new fragment of Naelius, one of Sallust, and one of Varro.¹ The last deserves particular attention.

The note on *Aen.* VI. 119, after in effect reproducing what Servius says, adds: *dicunt tamen quidam liram Orphei cum VII cordis fuisse, et caelum habet VII zonas, unde teologia assignatur. Varro autem dicit librum Orfei de vocanda anima liram nominari, et negantur animae sine cithara posse ascendere.* 'Some people, however, say that the lyre of Orpheus had seven strings, and the sky has seven zones, and hence a theological explanation is given.'² But Varro says

that a book of Orpheus on the summoning of the soul is called *Lyra*, and it is denied that souls can ascend without a lyre.³ It is not likely that this note is a pure figment; the other new material quoted by Savage certainly looks genuine. We have in it a direct mention of an Orphic treatise *Λύρα*, which seems to be otherwise unknown, and a somewhat obscure reference to its contents.

The words *et . . . ascendere* need not be part of Varro's statement or directly concerned with the Orphic treatise in question; it is a habit of scholiasts to set side by side a medley of facts and fancies illustrative of their texts. The words in themselves are most naturally interpreted as referring to the soul's ascent after death through the seven planetary spheres. According to a widespread belief the soul came from heaven and returned to heaven. In its

¹ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LVI. (1925) 229 ff.

² Cf. Kern, *Orphica*, 143, No. 60, ἐν ταῖς φερομέναις ράψῳδίαις Ὀρφικαῖς ἡ θεολογία ἦδε. Orpheus is repeatedly classed among *theologi poetae* in S. Aug. *Ciu. d.* XVIII., and Marius Plotius Sacerdos, *Art. gramm.* III. 3 (VI. 502, Keil), mentions that the hexameter was called *metrum theologicum* from its use by Orpheus

and Musaeus. *Vt caelum habet* is possible, but not necessary.

³ The distinction between *cithara* and *lyra* is here as commonly ignored.

earthward descent it gained a sin on passing each sphere: *cum descendunt animae, trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iouis regni desiderium.*¹ In its heavenward ascent it lost a sin at each sphere: *οὐτως ὄρμῃ λοιπὸν ἄνω ὁ ἀνθρωπος διὰ τῆς ἀρμονίας καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ζώνῃ δίδωσι τὴν αὐξητικὴν ἐνέργειαν κ.τ.λ.*² The lyre corresponds to the world order, its seven strings to the seven planets, each of which has its voice in the music of the spheres; the lyre's harmony is an imitation of the harmony of the spheres, music has a purifying effect, and the man who has no music in his soul cannot rise to heaven, for only like can comprehend like.³ These ideas, commonplaces of the Pythagorean revival and not confined to it, explain *et negantur animae sine cithara posse ascendere*, although *sine cithara* remains a little vague.⁴

Was the *Λύρα* concerned with this topic? To suppose that it was requires a forced interpretation of the phrase *de uocanda anima*. It is just possible that a Christian redactor, paraphrasing his source, used the phrase in the sense of 'God's summoning of the soul from the body,' though in such examples as *caelesti sorte uocatus and pro facitis ad alta uocaris*⁵ the sense is made clear by the context. If, however, we bear in mind that the line of Virgil being explained

¹ Serv. *ad Aen.* VI. 714; cf. his note on XI. 50 and Arnob. II. 16, 28 (both perhaps drawing upon Labeo), and Macrobius. *In Somn. Scip.* I. 11. 12 (drawing on Numenius, according to Cumont, *Revue de philologie*, 1920, 231). On the idea in general cf. Bousset, *Arch. f. Rel.* XVIII. 145 ff.

² Corp. Herm. I. 25. The first zone is the Moon's. The qualities lost at the later spheres are sins.

³ For the voices of the planets cf. Cumont, *Rev. phil.* 1919, 78 ff.; for the cathartic power of music, A. Delatte, *Étude sur la littérature pythagoricienne*, 262 f.; for the lyre's harmony as an imitation of the harmony of the universe, Serv. in *Aen.* VI. 645 and Cumont, *Rev. arch.* 1918, 67. Hippolytus, Ref. IV. 48. 2, p. 70, 20 Wendland remarks that the constellation *Lyra* has seven strings signifying the whole harmony of the universe.

⁴ A possible parallel is the representation in the stuccos of the apse of the Basilica near the Porta Maggiore of Sappho holding a lyre as a type of the blessed soul (cf. now J. Carcopino, *Études Romaines*, I. 372 ff.).

⁵ Diehl, *Inscr. chr. lat.* 1644, 3359.

refers to the quest of Eurydice, we may think not of the soul's ascent to bliss but of 'the invoking or summoning (i.e. raising) of spirits,' which is a much easier sense to give the phrase. Orpheus entered Hell, *ἵμετέρη πίσυνος κιθάρη*, as he is made to say, *Arg.* 42, and raised Eurydice. This could be a prototype for spirit-raising, which was a common magical enterprise. The connexion between mythical and contemporary spirit-raising is emphasised by an enlarged version of part of the Homeric *neykōmanteia* given by Julius Africanus in his *Kēstoroi*;⁶ Africanus pleasantly leaves it an open question whether Homer himself or the Pisistratidae deleted the additional verses. Such a work as this *Λύρα* might be composed in the Neopythagorean circles to which not a few of our later *Orphica* are with reason assigned. In them necromancy seems to have been practised; we may recall Cicero's taunt to Valerius: *tu qui te Pythagoreum soles dicere . . . cum inferorum animas elicere, cum puerorum extis deos manes mactare soleas.*⁷ That is the sense we want. *uocanda* will bear the meaning 'invoke' (cf. Seneca, *Oed.* 559, *uocat inde manes teque qui manes regis*, and the claim of Orpheus, *Arg.* 39, to have taught *ἱλασμούς τε θεῶν φθιμένων τ' ἐπιτίχυτα δῶρα*), and may imply conjuration. It would, however, be preferable to read *euocanda*. *euoco* is a technical term in this sense, like *excicio*, *elicio*, *excito*. *De euocanda anima* might render *περὶ ψυχαγωγίας*.

Ascendere might also be interpreted of the ascent of souls when conjured. It seems, however, better to assume, as I have said, that the clause *et . . . ascendere* is independent of Varro . . . *nominari*, and it is possible that in an earlier version the note ran: 'unde *teologia assignatur*, *et negantur animae sine cithara*'

⁶ P. Oxy. 412. Cf. on it Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungzauber*, II. 150 ff., §§ 334 ff.; Hopfner gives a full treatment of the whole subject.

⁷ In *Vatinium* 14 (*cum* means 'though' in reference to words here omitted). For Varro's interest in thaumaturgy cf. Apul. *Apol.* 42 (his record of a prophecy about the result of the Mithridatic war made by a boy of Tralles who looked at a reflection of a Hermes in water).

posse ascendere; Varro autem dicit librum Orfei de uocanda anima liram nominari.'

In any case we have to thank Professor Savage for the name of a new Orphic treatise and for a *terminus ad quem* for it in the citation by Varro.

In which of his works it occurred, whether in his religious writings or in one of the Menippean satires, the *Hepi ἐξαγωγῆς* (which probably included a Nekyia) or the *'Oros λύρας*, we cannot say.
A. D. NOCK.

CICERO, PRO SESTIO VIII. 18, AND THE 'COLUMNNA RHEGIA.'

'PUTEALI et faeneratorum gregibus inflatus, a quibus compulsus olim, ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam [in] fretu ad Columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum perfugerat, contemebat equites Romanos, minitabatur senatu' (*Pro Sestio VIII.*, § 18).

Thus Cicero describes Gabinius and 'the usurers under pressure from whom he had taken refuge in the haven of the tribuneship in order in that Scyllan strait of debt to avoid clinging (or "sticking") to the Column.' The current explanation of the clause italicised is given by Holden: '*ad Columnam*: sc. Maeniam, which was the tribunal of the *triumviri capitales* for the trial of the lowest malefactors. There is also an allusion to the *columna* in the *fretum Siculum*, called here *Scyllaeum fretum*, which the inhabitants of Rhegium had erected . . . *adhaeresceret*: in a double sense for *naufragium faceret* and *proscriberetur*. Stripped of metaphor, the whole passage would have run thus: *ne aere alieno obrutus ad columnam Maeniam proscriveretur*. Translate: "for fear he should stick fast on the pillar (i.e. be posted as a defaulter on the Maenian column) in that dangerous whirlpool of debt." Now, whatever the real perils, they are undoubtedly conceived here under the form of an adventure by sea; but *adhaeresco* does not elsewhere have the sense of *naufragium facere*, nor would shipwreck in the Straits of Messina naturally be described as *ad Columnam* (i.e. τὴν τῶν Ρηγίνων στυλίδα) *adhaerescere*. The *Columna* was on shore. I would suggest that there is another element in Cicero's thought, and that he said 'Scyllaeo fretu' and not 'Siculo fretu' with a purpose, meaning more than a reference to the familiar straits. Scylla was popularly and originally associated with one story almost uniquely—that

of Odysseus—allusion to which, therefore, would naturally be understood by Romans of education. Cicero was speaking to a jury of senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*,¹ who later in the speech understood allusive references to the sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus² and the fate of Miltiades.³

Through the perilous strait betwixt the rocks Odysseus first sails on the side of Scylla, but after his ship is destroyed he is swept back thither, this time towards the other rock. The latter, however, has a feature of which Circe forewarned him :

τῷ δὲ ἐν ἐρεβεσ ἔστι μῆγας, φύλλουσι τεθλώτι·
τῷ δὲ ὑπὸ δια Σάρυβδος ἀναρροβθεῖ μέλαν οὐδωρ.

Od. XII. 103 £

When, therefore, he is carried thither,

ἡ μὲν ἀνερροβθεῖσα θαλασσῆς ἀλμυρὸν οὐδωρ·
αὐτὰρ ἐγώ ποτι μακρὸν ἐρεβεσ οὐψόν· δερθεὶς
τῷ προσφότερον ἐχόμην ὡς νυκτερός· οὐδέ πῃ εἶχο
οὔτε στηρίξαι ποτοῦ ἐμπέδον οὐτ' ἐπιβήναι·
μέσαι γὰρ ἐκάς εἶχον, ἀπήνως δὲ έσται οὐδεὶς.

Ibid. 431 ff.

He clings to the trunk, naked and column-like, betwixt root and branches, '*adhaerescit ad columnam*.' Cicero uses *adhaeresco* in almost the same image elsewhere: '*ad quamcumque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati, ad eam tamquam ad saxum adhaerescunt*' (*Ac. II. 3. 8*; cf. *De Fin. V. 18. 49*). This, I suggest, was his play of thought, not only to compare the perilous straits of Gabinius to the Scyllan Straits, but, taking advantage of the coincidence, to liken the perils of emerging from the first by facing prosecution and being posted upon the Columna Maenia to those of emerging from the second by way of the naked tree-trunk.

What, however, of the *στυλίς* near Rhegium, the 'columna Rhegia,' which has passed muster merely as a pillar

¹ In accordance with the *lex Aurelia iudicaria* of Cotta.

² XXI., § 48.

³ LXVII., § 141.

for some reason sacred to Poseidon, the god of the sea? If we look at the map and at the location of Scylla and Charybdis by the later Greeks, we see that Scylla was recognised at the northern end of the strait and Charybdis several miles to the south, near the Sicilian coast, opposite, not to Rhegium itself, but to the *στυλίς* or *Columna* (see e.g. Strabo, pp. 256, 268, and 171). The usual meanings of *στυλίς* are 'pillar, post, or mast'; and it is perhaps worth suggesting that this erection (of a kind rare elsewhere) just at this point formed not only a convenient middle term for Cicero's thought, but originally also, being a pillar of wood (*i.e.* a tree-trunk) or stone, perhaps with foliated capital,¹ was set up in

¹ πυργίον τι, apparently applied to the *στυλίς* by Strabo, suggests a *columna cochlis*, some-

part to commemorate the huge fig-tree of Homer's story at the point where safety from Charybdis might be sought²—it was the regular point of landing—and was associated with the name of the rescuing sea-god, on whom men might call for deliverance from his daughter³ Charybdis as they called on Crataeis for deliverance from her daughter Scylla (*Od.* XII. 124 f.). He was strong to deliver, but when Charybdis was swallowing

οὐ . . . κεν βύσαυτό σ' ὑπὲκ κακοῦ οὐδὲ ἐρωτίχθου. Od. XII. 107.

R. B. ONIANS.

thing resembling on a smaller scale Trajan's column or Hardy's 'tower in the form of a classical column' (*Two on a Tower*, init.).

² It was, however, on the Italian shore.

³ This relationship (see Servius *ad Aen.* III. 420) does not appear in Homer.

ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF HORACE, S. II. 1. 85 F.

'Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius
est
iudiciumque.' 'Esto, si quis mala; sed bona
si quis
iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis
opprobriis dignum latraverit integer?' . . .
ipsae
solventur risu Tabulae, tu missus abibis.
. . . latraverit integer ipse? solventur risu
tabulae, etc., *codd. plerique et edd.*

It is strange that in this *locus vexatus* a variant so important as *ipsae*, the reading of the tenth century Paris MSS. φ and ψ, is not even mentioned in the standard texts and commentaries. Yet as it is commonly printed the passage is disfigured by a superfluity and a defect. 'Ipse' is at best *de trop*;¹ while the word 'tabulae' cries out to be emphasised, not only by the capital letter which Wickham gives it in his translation, but also by the pronoun 'ipsae' assigned to it, we may well believe, by Horace, and preserved both in the two 'testes integerrimi' of

¹ For the use of the qualifying adjective 'integer,' cp. Cicero's 'nemo fere saltat sobrius,' and Horace, S. II. 3. 5, 188, 197, 281; 4. 5; *Epp.* I. 2. 34, etc.

The best comment on 'latraverit' is furnished by Cicero, *Pro Ser. Roscio Amerino* 56-57, which even Palmer fails to cite: for the accusative see, e.g. *Epode* 5. 57 f.

(b) In Ovid, *Met.* VI. 538, where—*pace* the editors—the manuscript text is sound enough: all that is needed is the emendation 'Poena' (as in Horace, C. IV. 5. 24 and III. 2. 32) for 'poena':

, tu geminus coniunx, hostis mihi debita Poena
est.¹

Additional emphasis is gained by placing the pronoun at the end of the line. So Ovid (*Met.* XV. 127) :

'nec satis est quod tale nefas committitur; ipsos
inscripere deos sceleri.'

Professor Garrod, in his preface to the revised Wickham in the S.C.B.O., calls attention to the fact that time and again, when the α family fails us, MSS. of the β family come to the rescue. We have only to listen to two of its members here to be quit of all these doubts and difficulties, which would never have beset the texts and commentaries, had the editors turned up their Keller and Holder, and sought help where help was to be found—viz. in ϕ and ψ , with Acron behind them. Even without that help Schütz, as reported by Palmer, interprets aright the general sense of the two lines. But to bring out their meaning and their bearing fully, some further discussion and elucidation is required.

* * * * *

In this prologue or epilogue—call it which you will—Horace is giving us his last word on satire, and stressing once for all the fundamental difference between his own method and the method of his master Lucilius. That difference hinges on the preference of Lucilius for $\tau\delta\psi\omega\rho\sigma\pi\omega$ and of Horace for $\tau\delta\gamma\lambda\omega\omega\sigma\pi\omega$. Horace had made the point already both at the beginning and at the end of his first book, in which the 'ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?' of I. 23 f. is taken up and emphasised by the 'ridiculum acri fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res' of II. 14, a sentence on which the whole passage, of which it is the centre-piece, depends.² This question ('ridiculum' versus 'acre') is in effect the vital issue on which Horace has gone to his lawyer Trebatius for advice. 'Quid faciam, praescribe.' To end effectively, the satire

should end by giving us the final ruling of the specialist consulted; and given that ruling is, in terms of a hyperbole.³ As in a somewhat similar context Plato (*R.P.* 487A) invokes the Genius of criticism—οὐδέ ἀν οἱ Μῶμος τό γε τοιοῦτον μέμψατο—so Trebatius, after preparing the way for his quip by a definite reference in line 83 to the *ipsissima verba* of the XII Tabulae,⁴ the 'fons omnis publici privatique iuris,' cites for judges to pronounce sentence, and to laugh the case out of court, the XII Tabulae themselves, as embodying to a legal mind the Genius of law. In view of the legal colour given to the whole piece by making a lawyer one of the *dramatis personae*, no charge of ambiguity can lie against the writer; unless we deliberately rob the word 'risu(s)' of its proper force by forgetting or ignoring the fact that 'risus,' good-tempered and infectious mirth, is the key-word to Horace's theory of satire: 'Omne vafer vitium *ridenti* Flaccus amico tangit et admissus circum *praecordia* ludit.'

'Solvore,' as in Martial (IX. 28. 4),
'... qui spectatorem potui fecisse Catonem,
solvore qui Curios Fabriciosque graves,'
is, I take it, used metaphorically in the sense of 'to melt,' 'to dissolve,'⁵ a

³ As Horace makes the XII Tables laugh, so Lucretius makes his atoms laugh, I. 919 f. and II. 976 ff.

⁴ Cp. *Epp.* II. 1. 23 f. and 152 ff., 'Tabulas peccare vetantis quas bis quinque viri sanxere,' etc.; and see Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of E.L.*, pp. 259 f., with Palmer's comment on our passage.

⁵ So, in the literal sense, at C. I. 4. 1 and 10; 9. 5: 'Solvitur acris hiems grata vice,' etc. Cp. the metaphorical use of 'regelare' in Seneca and Martial, whose 'rigidi Catones' (X. 20 [19] 21) are the analogue of Horace's 'rigidus Niphates' (C. II. 9. 20). But with a word like 'solvore' it is dangerous to dogmatise. Thus a comparison of Virgil's usage in such passages as *Aen.* I. 92; XII. 951 and 867, 'illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor' (see also perhaps *ib.* IV. 55, IX. 236, and X. 305, 'solvitur,' 'breaks up,' 'goes to pieces' of a ship), suggests that here as elsewhere 'solvore' stands for the Greek λύειν, and means simply 'unstring' (λύσε δὲ γύναι), 'overcome,' 'put out of action'—a metaphor almost equally apt and effective. The ablative is presumably not modal, but instrumental, as in Seneca, *Epp.* 78. 18, 'non vincetur dolor ratione, qui victus est risu'; cf. the Homeric γέλω ἔκθανον of *Odyssey* XVIII. 100.

¹ For the collocation of words, cp. 'di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis,' *Aen.* XII. 895; and for the feminine 'hostis,' Ovid, *A.A.* II. 461, and *Her.* VI. 82.

² Obviously the words 'bona (carmina)' in the passage before us (II. 1. 83) constitute an epitome of the stylistic qualities dealt with in full at I. 10. 7 ff.

figure of speech for which Trebatius has prepared the way by his 'maiorum ne quis amicus frigore te feriat' in lines 61 f. above. We might illustrate the expression from the idiom of to-day by 'Mr. Max Beerbohm's dictum that there is something dreary in the notion of going anywhere for the specific purpose of being amused. I prefer that laughter shall take me unawares. Only so can it master and dissolve me.'¹

'We have in this world,' says Meredith, 'men whom Rabelais would call

¹ 'H. B.' in the *Sunday Times*, July 10, 1927; see also Mr. Kipling's *Rewards and Fairies*, p. 77.

agelasts; that is to say non-laughers, men who are in that respect as dead bodies, which if you prick them do not bleed.' The *Tabulae* are 'agelasts.' That is the point. 'Mirth such as yours,' says Trebatius, 'will take even Law incarnate unawares, and make the non-laughing laugh with the best.'

Last, there is something thoroughly Horatian about the antithesis ('solventur-risu Tabulae'), which for climax gathers up the two elements in the *Satire*, Literature and Law, in a juxtaposition similar to the famous 'Troica quem peperit sacerdos' of C. III. 3. 32.

D. A. SLATER.

LATIN HINNULEUS, HINULUS (?), 'FAWN.'

THE meaning, if not the spelling, of *hinnuleus* at Horace, *Carm.* I. 23. 1—

uitas hinnuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerant pauidam montibus autis
matrem, non sine uano
aurarum et siluae metu

cannot be doubted; 'mule-foal' is not only inept, it is condemned by comparison with the fragment of Anacreon (Bergk 51) cited by all the commentators:

ἀγανᾶς οἴά τε νεθρὸν νεοθήλεα
γαλαθηνόν, δστ' ἐν ὑλῇ κεροέσσης
ἀπολειφθεῖς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοίθη.

Notoriously the Romans were themselves erratic spellers whenever it was a question whether or not to write *h*, and the evidence of the MSS. is not always decisive to determine ancient practice, much less the etymological spelling. But however shaky in spelling, they knew, and certainly the poet knew, the difference between a fawn and a mule-foal. This, however, did not prevent them from using the same word to describe two so different creatures, and that they did so is not in itself surprising. Latin *tēla* may be either 'javelins' or 'a loom'; the context decides the meaning, as it does between the alternative renderings of *hinnuleus*, 'fawn' and 'mule-foal.' Similar pairs of homophones may be found in any language. The difficulty arises, in the case of *hinnuleus*, simply because two words originally as distinct in pronunciation as in meaning, neither of

them very familiar, came to be pronounced, first almost and then entirely alike.

hinnus, which was borrowed from Greek *ἵννως* and then took an initial *h*- by association with *hinnire*, is 'mule' (Varro, *R.R.* 2. 8. 1), and its diminutive *hinnulus*, 'mule-foal' (Pliny, *N.H.* 8. 172), of which the derivative *hinnuleus*, properly an adjective (as at Scribonius 13), was also used, by a common development, as a noun identical in meaning (Varro, *L.L.* 9. 28; Pliny, *N.H.* 8. 118). But beside this group of words stood **enelos*, cognate with Greek *ἐνέλος* and Armenian *ul* (see Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wtb.*, ed. 2, s.v. *hin(n)uleus*), of which the normal Latin development would have been **enulus* and its adjective **enuleus*. Not only the initial *h*- and the 'doubled' *n* must be due to confusion with *hinnulus*, 'mule-foal,' but also (what has not been previously recognised) the change of *e* (in an accented syllable) to *i* under conditions in which *e* was otherwise preserved (e.g., *genus*, *penus*, *tenuis*). The explanation proposed by Stolz, *Hist. Gram.* I. (1894), p. 135, fails, since in *sigillum*, *tigillum* we have *i* for *e* before -*ll*- in a syllable which in Old Latin was unaccented.

Now since the confusion was so complete, the spelling (*h*)*innuleus* is preferable; for variation between -*n*- and -*nn*- is a matter upon which manuscript evidence, conflicting as it is, cannot be accepted at its face value. In Horace, at least, the *inuleo* of the good MSS. is

unmetrical, for *i-* is without authority, and the length of the syllable (as distinguished from that of the vowel) is better indicated, as in *Porsenna* beside *Porsena*, by the prolonged (or so-called 'doubled') *n*. The question of the spelling with or without initial *h-* is of less importance; the ancients themselves were not sure about it, and even in *hinnus* the *h-* requires explanation. It is, however, the fact that wherever *hinnuleus* means 'fawn' the MSS. show greater variation in respect of the initial *h-* than where it means 'mule-foal.' To make this distinction, however, between *innuleus* and *hinnuleus* in modern texts and dictionaries is to make a

distinction which the Romans did not make, as well as to obscure the history of *hinnuleus* 'fawn.' The form *henulus* given by a manuscript of Isidore, *Etym.* (Vallicelli A 18, at 12. 4. 44, see *Bull. du Cange*, 1925-26, p. 149), is merely one of many freakish spellings in the same MS.

But it would not be at all astonishing if Latin had a 'doublet' *hinulus* (with *t*), 'fawn,' which the history of the word would fully lead us to expect. It may be left to editors of Propertius to decide whether or not to accept this 'doublet' at Prop. 3. 13. 35, where the MSS. have 'atque hinuli pellis totos operibat amantes.'

J. WHATMOUGH.

SOPHOCLES O.T. 1511-1514.

σφῶν δ, ὁ τέκνι, εἰ μὲν εἰχέτην ήδη φρέας,
πόλλ' ἀν παρήνοντο· τὸν δὲ τοῦτον εὐχεσθέ μοι,
οὐ καιρός, αἰὲν ἦν, βίου δὲ λόγον
ὑμᾶς κυρῆσαι τούτον φυτεύσαντος πατρός.
τοῦ βίου codd.

I BELIEVE the text to be sound, as printed above, although that is not the general opinion. Let us see, then, if a paraphrase will be of assistance in enabling us to clear up the issues.

To you, my daughters, had ye by now reached the age of discretion, my advice would have been ample and to spare. But, as things are, such would I have your prayers, that while living where you can (where occasion offers) you may at least live more happily than the father who begat you.

What is amiss here? The difficulty which Mr. Moore feels (*C.R.* XLI. 57) is obviated when we remember that the clause *οὐ . . . ζῆν* is actually subordinate and of secondary importance, and that the chief stress is attached to *βίου λόγον κυρῆσαι*. I should like to refer in this connexion to Kuehner-Gerth. II. 261, 264. Instances like the present, where the second member is stressed, are common enough. Cf. *At.* 504, *καὶ μὲν δαιμόνιον ἔλα, σοὶ δὲ αἰσχρὰ τάπη ταύτα καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει, i.e.*, whatever my fortune may be, where *τάπη ταύτα* are the taunts to be levelled against Euryaces and herself. *O.C.* 1536 *θεοὶ γάρ εὐ μέν, οὐψὲ δὲ εἰσορώσο’ θράν κ.τ.λ.*

So far Jebb is excellent, but less so when he defends the admission of the article: 'τοῦ before *βίου*, though not required, is commended by Greek idiom; and it is not likely to have crept into the text, since the occurrence of *dei* with the a long was not so uncommon that it should have suggested the need of supplementing the metre by *τοῦ*'. The answer to this is simple: *viz.*, that the intrusion of the article without any obvious reason—other than paedagogic—frequently occurs. Triclinius was a notorious sinner, and for examples see Starkie's note on *Acharnians*, p. lxxx. A. C. PEARSON.

CICERO, ORATOR, 132.

'DICEREM perfectum, si ita iudicarem, nec in ueritate crimen arrogantiae pertimescerem.'

Such is the form of the text in Friedrich's Teubner edition. But Sandys (Cambridge, 1885), followed by Wilkins (Oxonii, 1903), reads *extimescerem*. The oldest manuscript, the mutilated codex of Avranches (A 238, saec. IX.: formerly of Mont St. Michel), gives *pertimescerem*, all other examined manuscripts *extimescerem*. Why Sandys and Wilkins prefer the latter reading they do not say. Both *extimesco* and *pertimesco* are good Ciceronian words, and they may have preferred the former as the rarer word, and less likely to be altered than the other, or as the more difficult reading, seeing that it creates a hiatus avoided by the other. What I wish to point out is that there is evidence four centuries older than the Avranches MS. for the reading *pertimescerem*. Augustine (who was well acquainted with the writings of Cicero, as well as those of Virgil and Lucan), in his *In Iohannis Euangelium Tractatus CXXV*, No. 58, § 3, composed about A.D. 416, has occasion to quote the above words 'cuiusdam saecularis auctoris,' and he does so with the reading *pertimescerem*. A. SOUTER.

TACITUS, AGRICOLA, XXVIII. 2.

TAC. *Agric.* XXVIII. 2: 'et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis,' etc. (F); 'uno renavigante' (H); 'uno regente' (Döderlein); 'uno <regente> remigante <s>' (W. R. Paton); 'una remigantes' et aliter alii: (v. Anderson in revised ed. of Furneaux, 1922, ad loc.).

The crux, of course, is that 'remigante' would not be said of a 'governator.' The sense is certain, as far as such things can be so: two of the three helmsmen have been slain, and the third is carrying on. Hence 'una remigantes,' though an easy correction ('s' lost owing to the first letter of 'suspectis'), is ruled out as excluding all mention of the third pilot, rendered imperative by 'suspectis duobus eoque interfectis,' an explanatory clause accounting for his being the

only one left. 'Uno renavigante' of H appears to me to be meaningless. Back whither? 'Uno regente' of Döderlein gives the sense, while Paton's emendation is even more ingenious, but the former does not really account for 'remigante,' and the latter is so far from the MSS. as to be extremely problematical, in addition to entailing a cacophony which Tacitus but rarely allows himself.

I would suggest 'uno rem agente,' which is palaeographically easy, and gives the meaning, 'rem agere' being used in its common sense of 'doing his job,' 'carrying on' with the action before mentioned ('gubernare'). The objection that none of the three pilots was surviving eventually, since the ships were lost at last

through lack of the helmsman's skill, does not seem to me to the point here, as, even if that is a correct inference from 'amisis per inscitiam regendi navibus,' there were numerous occasions and contingencies in the considerable interval that elapsed which might have accounted for the third man's disappearance. Thus would not an enemy have been selected to precede the 'infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos' destined to play an involuntary part in the commissariat ('vescerentur')? Briefly, then, the gist of the matter is that the two helmsmen were suspected and slain, and the third carried on for the present, this being, in the existing state of the MSS., most probably expressed by 'rem agente.'

J. H. ILIFFE

REVIEWS

THE RETURN OF ODYSSEUS.

Die Heimkehr des Odysseus: Neue homerische Untersuchungen. Von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Pp. viii + 205. Berlin: Weidmann, 1927. M. 8.40; bound, M. 10.

THIS book, like its predecessor from the same pen, *Die Ilias u. Homer*, is on no higher level than the multitude of Homeric treatises that were produced in Germany last century, and are now largely discredited in that country itself. It is quite old-fashioned, and comes too late to have any effect in reviving Kirchhoffism.

Three statements in it claim special mention. (1) Only 'idiots' believe in a Homer who composed the two epics (p. 172). (2) Anyone who would impugn the basis established by Kirchhoff for study of the *Odyssey* is 'impervious to scientific logic,' and deserves only silent contempt (p. i). This recalls the taunt the author once uttered against Blass. (3) The authors of certain Homeric works, which von Wilamowitz does not condescend to read—doubtless they are by some of the idiots above referred to—are requested to refrain in turn from reading the present volume (p. vi). This again recalls a query of Dr. Maret's in another connexion, 'what could be more stupefying than to shut yourself up in a closet and swallow your own gas?'

The senseless arrogance of these outbursts really absolves one from the necessity of taking the work seriously, and a perusal—a few pages

will suffice—can be recommended only on the ground that it will show that the treatment of the epic is exactly that which was in vogue in Germany in the worst days of last century. The late Dr. Leaf, who once upon a time favoured that treatment, rubbed his eyes when he read *Die Ilias u. Homer*, and deplored its adherence to old critical methods. He could have had no higher opinion, had he lived, of the present work. Space does not suffice for an examination of the criticism in detail, but one point may be noticed. There is the old, and to those who have studied them and considered them in other literatures, the scandalous misuse of the Repetitions. Rothe's *Wiederholungen* checked the flow of treatises on the subject in Germany, and the viciousness of the application of the expedient has often been exposed, but it is so fruitful of results if one is sufficiently audacious, that the temptation to profit by it is to some irresistible. 'The *viva sectio*,' as Coleridge said, 'is its own delight'; but this simple means of dissection adds greatly to the pleasure.

For the rest, the Telemachy is still a Telemachy and ω is late, and so on. In regard to ω , the latest of all the books, it was asked some years ago how it comes about that F and $\delta\dot{\eta}\tau\omega$ are as healthy in it as in the very earliest, A, but no answer has been given. And this suggests a more general question—will not some one of those who cut up and rearrange the *Odyssey* so confidently

complete his task by showing how differences of the language of the various elements of vastly different ages confirm his reconstruction?

The title of the book, it should be noted, is exactly the same as that of the recent work on the *Odyssey* by Dörpfeld and Rüter.

A. SHEWAN.

MONOLOGUE AND SOLILOQUY.

Monolog und Selbstgespräch: Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie. By WOLFGANG SCHADEWALDT. Pp. 270. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926.

Τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη, says Odysseus, and it is no rare thing for an Homeric hero even in the stress of battle, after some ejaculation, generally of self-pity or appeal or protest to a god, to 'commune with his own great heart' in a set speech. The thing is done so naturally and so often that it seemed to Leo, in his well-known essay on 'The Monologue in Drama' (*Abh. Gött. Ges.*, 1908), that the Greeks, at any rate the old Ionians, must have had the habit in real life of talking to themselves and to the gods in times of crisis. Leo, as Mr. Schadewaldt observes, was justly indignant at the Ibsenitish heresy which banned soliloquy as 'artificial' and impoverished the modern stage; yet in Tragedy the evolution of the form was remarkably slow, and even *after* Sophocles, in the last speech of Ajax, and Euripides, in Medea's grim debate with her conflicting passions, had revealed its possibilities, the form was not exploited as it was, for instance, by our own Elizabethans, but first starved and then discarded in the later plays of the tragedians. In the New Comedy, of course, the 'monologue' became a regular and very useful technical device. Leo explained the matter simply. Tragedy never learnt to dispense with the chorus, and in the presence of a chorus no one can indulge in free soliloquy.

To Leo's essay Mr. Schadewaldt acknowledges his debt, and pays the tribute of a serious criticism. Devoted as he was to the New Comedy and thinking of the forms and functions of the comic monologue as normal, Leo did less than justice to the tragedians. He approached them not so much as masters of their own art, but as prede-

cessors of the comic artists, experimenters, endeavouring, not entirely without success, to hammer out a form analogous to those of later Comedy, but hampered by their own tradition and convention, in particular, as we have seen, by the embarrassing and ever-present chorus. Mr. Schadewaldt, who thinks of them as masters, not as slaves, of their convention, shows that, although the presence of a chorus naturally made a difference, it was, in this matter of soliloquy, by no means the decisive factor. Leo's conception of the technical 'monologue,' as a speech delivered without other persons present, led him to class together scenes which are in effect very different from one another—prologues, for example—and also to ignore or underestimate much which, though sung or spoken in the presence of a chorus or of other actors, has in fact the character of soliloquy. Schadewaldt thinks of the 'monologue,' not as a preconceived form to which the evolution had to tend, but as a natural method of dramatic expression, which springs to life whenever, under stress of strong emotion or of overpowering thought, the actor, whether or not he is physically solitary, draws into himself from his environment and feels and talks as if he were alone. By a new and thorough examination of the tragic material, he succeeds not only in showing the inadequacy of Leo's sketch, but in throwing new light on the methods of the dramatists. In particular his account of the process by which Euripides drew away from the vivid and passionate soliloquy form revealed in the *Medea* is an important contribution to dramatic history, and, indirectly, a by no means negligible advance in the direction of a sound solution of that very difficult and subtle problem, the history of the opinions of Euripides himself.

It is impossible in a short review to

discuss the many topics on which Mr. Schadewaldt's work is suggestive. On some, if space permitted, we should have to join issue with him. He seems, for instance, too much under the spell of T. von Wilamowitz's remarkable essay on Sophocles, a valuable protest against criticising stage-stuff in the spirit of a lawyer or historian or novelist, which went too far, however, in the direction of denying that the persons of ancient Tragedy were conceived as 'characters'—that is, as complete and living personalities—at all. Also his conscientious method leads to many repetitions and to wearisome insistence on points which should be obvious to anyone who apprehends the general drift of his argument. Lastly, he tends to use a philosophic jargon, vaguely impressive, and fashionable now in German criticism, but somewhat baffling to an uninitiated foreigner. Still the reward is worth the pains. Mr. Schadewaldt is a good scholar and a clear thinker. He knows his text, and, if his

solemn journey through scene after scene is not exactly thrilling, it is at any rate a sure and steady progress. Above all, he knows that plays are plays, and so avoids the pitfall into which, in spite of prefatory assurances to the contrary, most writers on Euripides have stumbled. He hardly ever uses an isolated speech or fragment without due analysis of context and dramatic situation as evidence for what the poet meant. That, in a writer about ancient drama, is a merit indispensable, and yet surprisingly rare.

The book is full of good things—an admirable comparison and contrast, for example, of the method of Aeschylus in the *Supplices* with his developed technique in the *Oresteia* (see especially p. 43), and a brilliant summary of the later, formalising tendencies of Euripides (p. 105 f.). But enough has, I hope, been said to indicate that, in my judgment, no serious student of Greek Tragedy should ignore this work.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

OUR DEBT TO AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, LUCIAN.

(1) *Aeschylus and Sophocles: Their Work and Influence.* By J. T. SHEPPARD, M.A., Litt.D. Pp. 204. (2) *Lucian: Satirist and Artist.* By FRANCIS G. ALLINSON, Litt.D. Pp. 204. London, Calcutta, Sydney : G. G. Harrap and Co. 5s. each.

THE first thought of anyone who has read Dr. Sheppard's book must be the wish that he had been allowed to deal in two volumes with these authors. There is so much to say, and so little space to say it in, though Dr. Sheppard has ably carried out the work of compression. The first half of the book is devoted to the work of the two poets and their influence in classical times; the second gives an interesting summary of their influence in modern Europe from the end of the fourteenth century down to Wagner and Thomas Hardy. In dealing with Aeschylus the author has done well in paying special attention to one play, the *Agamemnon*, and revealing the nature of its dramatic texture; of the Sophoclean plays the *Ajax* has been given most attention,

but the *Electra* and *Trachiniae* are also carefully analysed, and special points in the remaining four are brought out. A few statements of Dr. Sheppard may seem questionable. On page 20 we are told that a woman's voice is heard crying 'Hallelujah' after the Watchman's speech; but the only recorded cry is the Watchman's own *iov*. On page 71 we read that Jocasta tries to prevent Oedipus 'from sending for the one eyewitness. But his insistence cannot be resisted. She yields.' But this is at line 861: it is only after this and the revelation of the Corinthian messenger that she is frightened at the prospect of his coming, not as eyewitness of the murder of Laius, but as recipient of the exposed babe. She had previously wondered at Oedipus' eagerness to see him (lines 766, 838), and said that he would be bound to corroborate his former statement (line 849), but she had not tried to prevent Oedipus sending for him. On page 136, the *Eumenides* is a mistake for the *Libation-Bearers*, where Orestes' nurse is spoken of.

In the second part of the book, no chapter is of greater interest than that on Milton, where Dr. Sheppard shows the influence of the great tragedians, not only on the dramatic form of the *Samson Agonistes*, but on the technique of the speeches, discovering in the balance of the thought the same kind of pattern which he had demonstrated in the Watchman's speech in the *Agamemnon*.

Dr. Allinson's *Lucian* is written in a different manner. His subject is a big one; as he says himself, 'the total amount attributed to Lucian occupies thirteen hundred and seven pages of the Teubner Greek text.' But his aim is mainly to give a lively and picturesque account of certain aspects of Lucian and his views, and a picture of the age in which he wrote. We are given chapters on Lucian's philosophy and ethics, and his treatment of the supernatural under the headings of the gods, applied superstition, and Christianity; and a miscellaneous chapter introduces some of the more interesting dialogues such as the *Cock*, where Dr. Allinson justly praises its 'entrancing humour.' In the second part of the book perhaps Dr. Allinson has insufficiently regarded his own warning that it is 'a temptation to identify as a far-flung ripple of his influence what may be of quite independent origin.' Great as was the influence of Lucian on the literature of later times, it may be questioned whether some of the works alluded to by Dr. Allinson were even indirectly affected by it. It is surely as unnecessary to attribute to Lucian the many stories of later times that deal with the possession of a man's shadow as to connect the frescoes on the walls of the Campo Santo at Pisa with the *Dialogues of the Dead*. He closes his list of works which derive from Lucian with Mr.

Hardie's *Gaisford Greek Prose* of 1922, but his translation of the witty quotation *τοὺς γῆν ἔχοντας λοιδορεῖ γεωργὸς ὁν* fails to bring out the point of the Greek.

Lucian is fond of metaphors. But Dr. Allinson far outrivals his subject in this respect, and the reader gets tired of his metaphorical and allusive style. He is probably little helped to the understanding of Lucian's influence by reading that his 'ghost gives forth no whisper at the behest of the cold-storage battery installed by Crawford in the outraged Mediterranean,' or that 'amazing use was made of the *Dialogues of the Dead* by feeding imitations of them into the hopper of periodic journalism.' We may imagine Lucian writing a companion work to the *Lexiphanes* in which Dr. Allinson would be indicted for using *τοσοῦτον ἐσμὸν ἀτόπων καὶ διαστρόφων μεταφορῶν*.' Sometimes Dr. Allinson in his attempts at being lively is rather cheap. Phrases like 'the Rt. Reverend Syllogism,' 'a Platonic D.D.,' 'only the more attractive submarine life is allowed to show even a periscope,' seem rather unworthy of a book of this sort. But a graver departure from taste appears on page 94, where Dr. Allinson might remember that a sneer at the genuineness of some psychical phenomena is at least as 'anachronistic' as the 'credulity' of those who have accepted it as the result of careful and conscientious investigation.

The book is not free from typographical errors. 'Willful' (p. 7) and 'humourous' (p. 39) may be intentional departures from the commonly accepted norm, but 'omniverous' (p. 154) can hardly be thus defended, and Matthew Prior's dates (p. 163) are given as 1664-1672.

A. S. OWEN.

THE GREAT WAR OF 431-404.

The Great War between Athens and Sparta. By B. W. HENDERSON. Pp. xiv + 517. Macmillan, 1927. 18s. 'THIS book is primarily intended to help students of Thucydides at schools and universities.' With this end in view it makes no attempt to initiate

them into *Die Thukydidesfrage*, nor to post them up in the latest modern discussions (e.g., Professor West's valuable studies in the Archidamian War), nor yet to give more than an occasional glance at the political background of the war; but it provides an ample

running commentary on Thucydides' military narrative. Dr. Henderson's political views, where they find expression, boldly defy current fashions, and are supported by some forcible reasoning. He makes an effective rejoinder to those who fix the blame for the war upon Pericles, but deals somewhat cavalierly with the Spartans, whom he roundly calls the aggressors, and the Corinthians, whom he rules out as of little importance. He breaks several lances on behalf of Alcibiades, but leaves us in doubt as to whether he approves of his protégé's transactions with the Spartan envoys in 420 B.C., or of his advocacy on behalf of the Sicilian Expedition. On two other episodes concerning which students of Thucydides require some enlightenment, the diplomatic écarté of 421-0 B.C., and the Revolution of the Four Hundred, he is almost reticent. But the real test of the book should rather be sought in its military chapters. Here again we find some things unsaid which had better have been said. Why was Greek warfare seasonal? Why did it mostly consist of straightforward battles between long thin lines of hoplites? Why, with so many cities to take, were

so few taken? Students of Thucydides would no doubt be ready to sacrifice a few of the forty-five pages devoted to Demosthenes' campaigns on the north-western front for a discussion of these recurrent topics. On the other hand, Dr. Henderson's treatment of the individual episodes in the war both makes good reading, and with its numerous apt illustrations from modern warfare should prove very helpful. As examples of his robust good sense we would specially mention his criticisms of Pericles' strategy, and his account of the campaign of 418 B.C. One more growl: The 'new town' on the Strymon is Neopolis, not Neapolis (p. 405, n.); Androton was not an annalist 'of the time' (p. 28); Professor Vischer was a Swiss, not a German (p. 230); Professor Hude is Danish, not Dutch (p. 420, n.1); and the ostraca hitherto discovered have proved to be pot-sherds, not oyster-shells (p. 332-3). Dr. Henderson writes in a breezy style, which stands in refreshing contrast to Thucydides' dry and scorching light. The present book will not carry the student of Thucydides over every part of the course, but so far as it goes it will be a pleasant and entertaining companion.

M. CARY.

THE LOEB PLATO. V.

Plato, with an English Translation. (Loeb Classical Library.) V. *Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias.* By W. R. M. LAMB, M.A. Pp. xx + 536. London: Heinemann, 1925. Cloth, 10s.

If not always successful in avoiding the stiffness of translation-English, Mr. Lamb abounds in felicitous renderings, and, as a whole, his version is very readable. I feel bound, however, to dissent from a good many of his interpretations of the Greek: e.g. 175B παρατίθετε . . . ἐπειδάν 'you are to set on . . . now that' (cf. C.Q. XV., p. 4, and *Hermath.* XVI., p. 211); 176D (cf. 193B) ὑπολαβόντα 'interrupted'; 178B (cf. 180B) τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν τίμιον 'of the most venerable are the honours of this god'; 191B εἴτε κτλ. 'to see if . . .'; 193A ἄπαντα is neglected or mistaken for ἀπαντι; 194C μὴ οὐχ οὗτοι ημεῖς

ἀμεν 'we, perhaps, are the latter'; 196A τὸ πρώτον does not go with ἔξιών; ib. δίαιτα 'seeking his food'; 197D ἀγανός 'superb'; 198B οὐχ ὁμοίως 'not so very'; 203D ἵπης 'strenuous'; 208D ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παΐδων 'to save the children of his queen'; 216B ὄντινοῦν is neglected; Grg. 451B ὅσα ἀνέκατερα τυγχάνῃ δύτα 'and the question of how many units there are in each'; 451C τὰ μὲν ἄλλα 'in most respects'; 452C παρὰ Γορυίᾳ 'in Gorgias' view'; 472A ἐν Πυθίον 'at Delphi'; 474C ἐξ αρχῆς 'all over again'; 480C ἐπὶ τούναντίον 'to the contrary'; 490C περὶ σιτία λέγεις 'you talk of food'; 493E σαθρά 'decayed'; 497C θεμιτόν 'the proper thing'; 503B δι' ὄντινα αἰτίαν ἔχοντοι 'A. whom the Athenians have to thank'; 513D δ' οὖν 'however'; 523B καὶ ἔτι νεωστὶ τοῦ Διὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος 'and still of late in the reign of

Zeus' (? about the time of Pericles' death, 503c); 525A ἔξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς 'an unbridled course of fastidiousness' (fancy being sent to hell for fastidiousness!).

In an edition of this kind we are entitled to expect all conjectural readings to be noted, and Mr. Lamb perhaps promises as much in his slightly ambiguous preface: 'The Greek text of this volume is based on the recension of Schanz; a certain number of emendations by other¹ scholars have been adopted, and these are noted as they occur.' Unfortunately this is not so, the following conjectures in the *Grg.* alone being adopted tacitly: 465A ὡν προσφέρει Cornarius (? Ficinus); 467A εἰ δή Heindorf; 469D καταγῆναι Burnet; 469E καὶ ai (Schaefer: Burnet is wrong in giving this as the MS. text); 485C παρά Stephanus; 485D νεανικόν Hein-

dorf; 492B ἀμόθεν Bekker (ἀμόθεν F); 493D οὐδ' ἀν ἄλλα Sauppe; 503D εἴη Burnet; 507B ἀλλ' ἀ δεῖ Heindorf; 510A ἀδικήσομεν Heindorf. In *Smp.* 213B Mr. Lamb prints a very good conjecture of his own—κατιδεῖν. But is φθίνον destined to be ἄφθιτον in 211A?

In the Introductions and Notes I can only notice one or two points. P. 82: The suggestion that Glauco may be Charmides' father involves the odd assumption that Plato would have represented his own grandfather as strictly contemporary with himself. P. 158: ποιητής. P. 256: Among various proofs of what may be called the megaphone (or microphone) theory of 'the Platonic Socrates' Mr. Lamb includes 'an enthusiastic fluency [in the *Grg.*] which is hardly in keeping with Socrates' avowed dislike of lengthy speeches.' 'Yet the young men . . . found an irresistible attraction in . . . his fervent eloquence . . .' (p. xi). P. 482: Is it quite fair to the unsuspecting Loebite to let him run away with the notion that the fare from Egypt to the Piraeus was at the very most 'about two shillings'?

W. L. LORIMER.

CRIMINAL LAW IN GREECE.

The Growth of Criminal Law in Ancient Greece. By GEORGE M. CALHOUN. Pp. x + 149. Cambridge University Press for the University of California Press, Berkeley, 1927. 15s.

IN quantity this slim volume may be regarded as short measure; the quality, however, of the contents is excellent. Lucid, well written, and interesting, it attacks with well-digested learning a difficult and little-known subject from rather a new angle. It establishes several important points which, I think, are new, and much of it is as interesting to the historian as to the student of jurisprudence.

The main part of the book is concerned with the attempt to trace from Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric poets the evolution of the idea of criminal law. Here the contention that the matter has hitherto been approached from the wrong angle owing to the disproportionate attention focused upon homicide

appears to be substantiated, though the author's scepticism as to the genuineness of the reference to purification in the *Aethiopis* rests upon the one instance of special pleading in the book. It is not really necessary to his thesis, and while it is, of course, quite true that the evidence is not as certain as it would be if we possessed the text of Arctinus, it is surely *a priori* much more probable that Proclus is right about it, than that he introduced the episode from his familiarity with the idea in later classical authors.

A good and interesting point is deduced from an examination of the technical names of Attic processes, viz. that the special forms of action (*εἰσαγγελία*, *ἀπαγωγή*, *φάσις κτλ.*) are of great antiquity and preceded rather than were added to *γραφή*. Probable, too, is the theory that Solon first introduced the requirement that public actions must be entered in writing.

Two things stand out very plainly in the later chapters of the book, the giant stature of Solon as a statesman and the degree to which Athens outstripped the

other states of Greece in her 'conception of those duties and powers of the state which are normally embodied in its criminal law.'

W. R. HALLIDAY.

SOME WORKS ON ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY.

S. Lönborg: *Dike und Eros: Menschen und Mächte im alten Athen.* Pp. 472. Munich: Oskar Beck, 1924.

É. Bréhier: *Histoire de la Philosophie.* I. *L'Antiquité et le moyen Âge;* II. *Période hellénistique et romaine.* Pp. 261-522 of tom. I. Paris: Alcan, 1927. 18 fr.

Adolfo Levi: *Sulle interpretazioni immanentistiche della Filosofia di Platone.* Pp. vi + 240. Turin: Paravia, n.d.

Adolfo Levi: *Il Concetto del Tempo nei suoi rapporti coi problemi del divenire e dell' essere nella Filosofia di Platone.* Pp. 112. Turin: Paravia, n.d.

Julius Stenzel: *Wissenschaft und Staatsgesinnung bei Platon.* Pp. 16. Kiel: Lipsius and Tischer, 1927.

SUCH a list of publications, all of rather different character, is welcome evidence of the continued interest of harassed and post-war Europe in τὰ τερπνὰ ἀν' Ἑλλάδα. Mr. Lönborg's book, the most considerable in size on the list, is an eloquent and enthusiastic study of three typical Athenians—a statesman (Pericles), a poet (Euripides), and a philosopher (Socrates), the third requiring nearly half the volume to himself. Mr. Lönborg writes with knowledge and literary distinction, and has everywhere something to say which is worth pondering. Perhaps if he has a fault, it is that his enthusiasm sometimes outruns judgment. Thus it may be doubted whether the ἐπτάφιος in Thucydides should be trusted implicitly as a picture of what Pericles had achieved for Athens. It is rather a description of the ideal of Pericles in his best moments, and it might be urged that Thucydides himself lets us see in his characteristic way, by ironies and silences, that even the Periclean ideal had a reverse to it. To take the speech as a statement of what the average Athenian actually was is to forget Dicaeopolis and Trygaeus and Strepsiades, who seem after all to have been pretty faithfully drawn

from the life. And, again, tempting as it is to depict the relation of Pericles to Aspasia as a 'marriage of true minds,' it is doubtful whether we ought to forget that Aspasia was, when all is said, an *hetaera*, and that the writers who created the literary legend of Aspasia seem all to have treated Pericles' connexion with her as a sensual weakness. This may, no doubt, be a misrepresentation, but we really have no means of proving the point. In the very sympathetic study of Euripides, regarded by the author as the greatest poet of Athens, free use has been made of the interpretations of Verrall and Murray, especially Murray. Mr. Lönborg combines Verrall's crusading 'rationalist' with Murray's 'feminist' into a composite photograph. He argues his points ably, but leaves me unconvinced. I think both he and Verrall forgot the masterfulness of what R. L. S. called an imaginative writer's 'brownies.' If the *Alcestis* strikes us as a rather odd version of a resurrection, the reason may be not that Euripides set out on the superfluous mission of destroying a legend which it is unlikely any Athenian regarded seriously, but that his characters, like Scott's, 'came alive' and insisted on taking the conduct of the story into their own hands. That may be why the poet could not tell Socrates what his own works meant. The 'feminism,' too, is largely read into Euripides arbitrarily. It is assumed, for example, that Medea is a loving woman who has been turned into a 'fiend,' for the nonce, by the wrongs done to her by Jason. But, by Euripides' account of the matter, Medea was a sort of 'hell-cat' from the first, and there is really no proof that the poet's sympathies were not with the respectable Jason in his helpless attempt to escape from his entanglement. Nor is it clear that Murray is right in finding a satire on the 'Melian atrocity'

in the prologue to the *Troades*. On Mr. Lönborg's own showing, it seems clear that Euripides must have chosen his subject and applied for his chorus months before it was known what the upshot of the affair of Melos would be. The discussion of Socrates, though most interesting, shows the author at his most arbitrary. The 'irony' of Socrates is the chief feature of the picture—a feature taken solely from the Platonic accounts, yet Plato and Aristotle are both treated as quite unworthy of credit whenever it suits Mr. Lönborg's preconceived theory of what Socrates must have been. Aristotle was romancing when he credited Socrates with interest in τὸ καθόλου and 'definition'; Socrates never attempted a definition in his life. Plato's account of his encounter with Protagoras is 'not even a caricature'; he cannot have said much which Plato makes him say in the *Apology*. Yet Mr. Lönborg knows and tells us at some length just what Anytus must have said at the trial on the other side! (In point of fact, it was clearly because the responsible position of Anytus would not permit him to violate the 'amnesty' promoted by himself, by dwelling on the topics Mr. Lönborg mentions, that he needed a tool like Meletus to do the work.) The oddest of all the author's theses, and the one for which he pleads most passionately, is that the *Symposium* is a work of the last six or seven years of Plato's life—thus contemporary with the latest parts of the *Laws*—and closely connected with *Ep.* VII. Mr. Lönborg shows so much real insight in much that he says that I think it a grave pity he should have attempted his reconstruction of Socrates in so arbitrary a fashion. Occasionally he surprises me by imperfect knowledge, as when he seems to think it not impossible that Thucydides, son of Melesias, was Thucydides the historian, or when he reveals a belief that the *Alcibiades* II. is a genuine work of Plato.

Mr. Bréhier's book is a brief but careful and well-documented history of Greek philosophical thought from the death of Aristotle to the end of the fifth and opening of the sixth century

A.D., which should be very useful as a work of reference. It is an excellent feature of his treatment that he includes, as too many writers on the subject do not, Christian Patristic down to Augustine, Boethius, and 'Dionysius.' I could wish, on the other side, that he had permitted himself some sceptical doubt about the reality of the connexion of post-Aristotelian Cynicism, Cyrenaicism, and Megarianism with 'associates' of Socrates, and again about the very insufficient evidence on which Zeno of Citium has first been set down as a 'Semite' and then interpreted in the light of Hebrew prophecy, apocalyptic, and 'wisdom.'

For the special student, Mr. A. Levi's two undated little books are far the most important of those on our list, and, I should say, among the most important of recent studies in Platonic philosophy. The first of the two I do not hesitate to call a crushing and final refutation of all the numerous modern interpretations of Plato which replace ontology by 'theory of knowledge,' particularly of the widely popular neo-Kantian version of Platonism given by Natorp and his pupils. In the second, the author is grappling with one of the notorious supreme difficulties in Plato, the problem of the place of 'passage' and time in the cosmology of the *Timaeus*. To discuss these books properly, or even to indicate the main points in which I should myself agree or disagree with Mr. Levi, would be quite impossible within the limits imposed on me by the editors of the *Classical Review*. I may be allowed, perhaps, to mention that I have attempted a brief discussion elsewhere (*Mind* N.S. 118, pp. 214-220, April, 1921), and to express my opinion that no student of Plato can possibly afford to neglect work of such first-rate importance.

Dr. Stenzel's pamphlet contains the substance of a discourse held before the University on January 18, 1927 (the fifty-sixth anniversary of the foundation of the German Empire). The purpose of this finely-conceived lecture is to dwell on the nature of the special services which the thinker can render in the rebuilding of a worthy

and stable society after the shaking of social foundations by a world-wide 'crisis of civilisation,' and to illustrate the point by the functions assigned to the 'philosopher-king' in the *Republic*. Dr. Stenzel's grave and weighty words are worthy of his theme and its occasion, and men with the souls of scholars in this country will heartily sympathise with their spirit. Only, in the interests of accuracy, if for no other reason, I

could wish he had not depicted Plato as quite so much of a secularist and 'rationalist.' After all, the 'other world' is never far off in the pages of Plato, though he does not suppose that it is to be won by neglecting one's duties in this world. No balanced exegesis can ignore the fact that the 'philosopher-kings' are saints, as well as statesmen and mathematicians.

A. E. TAYLOR.

THE GREEK PERFECT.

Histoire du Parfait Grec. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, XXI.). Par PIERRE CHANTRAIN. Pp. 268. Paris: Champion, 1927.

THIS study of the Greek Perfect is inspired, as its author acknowledges in the preface and elsewhere, by Wackernagel's *Studien zum griechischen Perfektum* (Göttingen, 1904; 24 pp.) and by Meillet's articles in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, XXIII., p. 64; XXIV., p. 110; XXV., p. 95 (1922-24).

Wackernagel (developing a thesis of H. Malden, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1865, p. 168) showed that the Perfect in Homer is never 'resultative,' i.e. never expresses the permanence in an object of the result of the action expressed in the verb. Perfect forms having this kind of meaning are not found before the fifth century, and from that time become gradually commoner. Pindar's ἀλλ' Ὀμηρός τοι τετίμακεν (*Odysseus*) δι' ἀνθρώπων is one of the earliest examples. This and the other results of Wackernagel's essay receive ample corroboration from M. Chantraine's more statistical treatment.

Meillet has suggested that the oldest Preterite corresponding to φέστι is φάτο, and that ἔφη, though found in Homer, is of recent origin. He notes a similar

relation between ἔστε and ἔκτο, and infers that the so-called Middle endings were not originally opposed in sense to the so-called Active endings. From the correspondence between φάτο and Lat. *fātūr* he further infers that -το is not essentially a Preterite ending.

M. Chantraine's search for additional evidence confirmatory of this theory seems to have had negative results. Of the list of perfect and pluperfect forms with Middle endings which he offers on pp. 47 ff., many are Passive in sense, so that, although consistent with Meillet's hypothesis, they can be explained without it. The recognition of a Middle ending in ἄνωχθε is difficult so long as no account is given of ἀνώχθω. The attempt to prove the priority of -το over -ται is unsuccessful: on p. 60 it is suggested that the Perfect Middle is of later origin than the Pluperfect Middle, but on p. 69 the suggestion is so modified as to be virtually given up. Nor is the attempt to prove the recent origin of the Pluperfect with 'Active' endings more successful. The stage of the language to which Meillet's theory (if true) carries us back seems, in fact, to be so early that hardly any traces of it remain in Homer, and the difficulty of demonstration is very great.

R. MCKENZIE.

LATIN PROSE-RHYME.

Die Lateinische Reimprosa. Von K. POLHEIM. Pp. xx+539. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925. M. 27.

CICERO tells us that there are two ingredients in prose-rhythm. The first of these is the use of *numeri* or metrical

cadences, which was supposed to owe its origin to Thrasyllus. The second element is described as *constructio verborum* or *concinnitas*. This was provided by certain σχήματα which were said to have been invented by Gorgias, viz.

constant antitheses, parallel clauses of equal length, answering each other, and winding up with homoeoteleuta. Cicero lays equal stress upon both of these elements. Modern students of prose-rhythm, however, have concentrated their attention upon the *numeri* of the *clausulae*, and have tended to neglect the other element. Polheim's point of view is quite different. His interest is not in prose-rhythm, but in rhyme.

The metrical *clausulae* of Cicero and his school were succeeded in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. by an accentual system, still more rigid than that which it replaced. At a later date this became crystallised in the mediaeval *cursus*, with its three forms, *planus*, *tardus*, *velox*, corresponding to the three favourite cadences of Cicero. All this is now well known, and needs no discussion here. There is, however, another aspect of the question which Polheim has brought to the front. This is the influence of the *Γοργία σχήματα*, and in particular of *όποιοτέλευτα*, on late and mediaeval prose. The most interesting point is that in accentual Latin similarity of endings was felt to be insufficient in itself, and was reinforced by actual rhyme.

This short introduction has been made, since Polheim's method of treating the subject is somewhat strange. He plunges at once in *medias res*, and in Ch. I. discusses the compositions of that charming personality Hroswitha of Gandersheim (tenth century). Hroswitha said of her poems:

Huc ego cum recubo me taedia multa capessunt,
An sit prosaicum nescio an metricum.

She would have been surprised if it had been possible for her to see the elaborate results of modern analysis. We are told that her rhyme is generally *einsilbig*, i.e. that it resides in the final vowel only, whereas at a later date it is extended to the last two or last three vowels.

In Ch. II. two lives of Queen Matilda are discussed. The first of these, written at the end of the tenth century, is free from rhyme; while the second, written early in the eleventh century, is rhymed. Ch. III. is called 'Rhyme and Cursus.' It begins with an account of the Polish

Chronicle ascribed to Martinus Gallus, and then goes on to give rules both for rhyme and for the mediaeval *cursus*. This necessary information ought to have come earlier in the book. Ch. IV. contains an astonishing list of documents, both Royal and private, the latter being arranged by sees in the case of Germany. Instances are also given from France, Italy, Sicily, and from Papal Bulls. Ch. V. is headed 'History of Rhyme in Latin Prose.' As a matter of fact, it deals exclusively with Gorgias and other Greek theorists. Ch. VI. is headed 'Cicero,' but he plays a small part in the discussion, possibly because, in Polheim's opinion, he does not distinguish clearly between *similiter cadens* and *similiter desinens*. In this respect the *Auctor ad Herennium* is held to be more satisfactory. Rutilius Rufus, an obscure contemporary of Seneca, receives a pat on the back. Since, however, his work was translated from the Greek of a later Gorgias, a contemporary of Cicero (*Quint.* IX. 2. 102), it is not obvious why he should be considered an exponent of Roman theory. The practice of Cicero and other Latin authors is then discussed. In this context brief references are made to the use of *numeri* proper, a subject which Polheim generally avoids, as outside the range of his enquiry. Chap. VII. deals with African writers, Pagan and Christian, notably Apuleius, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian. We are told, not without reason, that in their writings the next great step in the development of prose-rhyme is to be observed. It is clear at the first glance that Apuleius was a devout disciple of Gorgias. Ch. VIII. deals very minutely with the technique of Augustine and his successors. Ch. IX. is headed 'Venantius Fortunatus,' but also deals with Leo, Cassiodorus, Fulgentius, and Gregory. Ch. X. is mainly concerned with Isidorus, but also deals with Aldhelm and Bede. We are told that the use of rhyme was generally avoided by the Anglo-Saxons and Irish. Ch. XI. is devoted to the scholars of the Renaissance under Charlemagne and his successors, e.g. Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, and Gottschalk. Ch. XII. deals with the

culmination of prose-rhyme. Hroswitha was an early bloom, the 'full flower' is to be seen in the eleventh century. 'The number of documents grows speedily, the artistic form becomes universal, its absence remarkable' (p. 363). The rhyme no longer resides in the final vowel, but in the last two, or last three vowels.

The universality of the practice is shown by an amazing list of documents arranged according to the provinces of Germany and France; also lists are given for Italy, Spain, and England. Ch. XIII. deals with the decline of the system, and Ch. XIV. with survivals in later theorists from Aeneas Sylvius in the fifteenth century down to 1901.

Polheim's book is very long, and his method of presenting the facts is open to criticism. There can, however, be no doubt about his stupendous erudition and capacity for taking pains. His work will appeal most to students of history and mediaeval literature. Its importance for textual criticism, for questions of genuineness, provenance, and authorship is great, though he himself points out that it must be used with caution. It is also of great value for the study of prose-rhythm, since it deals with a side of this which has not been treated by recent writers. In particular, writers upon the *cursus* must in the future consider not only rhythm but rhyme.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS. Revised and enlarged edition. Pp. lxii + 420 with 44 plates, 4to. London, 1926.

IN 1888 the British Museum published its first *Catalogue of engraved Gems*, a summary description of 2,349 specimens with a couple of indexes, a frontispiece, and nine plates. This useful little work suffered from two defects—imperfect classification (no attempt was made to subdivide that convenient category 'Graeco-Roman gems') and inadequate illustration (206 stones only were figured). In both directions Furtwängler showed the way to better things. His great treatise *Die antiken Gemmen*, which appeared in 1900, mapped out the whole subject with masterly understanding and filled in most of its provinces with a wealth of critical investigation. Moreover, his catalogue of the Berlin collection had classified no fewer than 11,872 specimens, and illustrated a large portion of them on 71 photographic plates. This splendid example was not lost on the authorities of the British Museum. As fresh acquisitions were made it became clear that the *Catalogue* must be not only revised but rewritten and produced upon a worthier scale. The work was

entrusted to Mr. H. B. Walters, who has incorporated much material gathered by Mr. A. H. Smith, and has successfully completed the handsome quarto issued in 1926.

It contains an Introduction, a brief description of 4,080 stones, several elaborate indexes, and 44 plates representing almost all the more important and many of the less important items.

And here it must be said that the plates, though good, are not so good as those in the original edition. Individual photographs are not sharp and 'plucky.' Here and there, too, the figures are wrongly numbered; thus on Pl. 2, Fig. 77 should be 78, Fig. 78 should be 86, Fig. 86 should be 77. The increased number of plates is a thing to be thankful for; but even now they are not numerous enough. The Museum—apart from its incomparable series of coin-catalogues—has been slow to realise the supreme importance of illustration. Presumably the defence is lack of funds. But a good illustration will often save much printed description and may even prove economical. In any case room might have been found for one or two plates of enlarged photographs: magnification by two or three diameters certainly facilitates stylistic study.

Much more satisfactory is the text,

which marks a great advance on that of its predecessor, and is in fact an admirable inventory of the Museum treasures. Mr. Walters is an old hand at cataloguing and knows well enough when to dilate and when to contract his commentary. He has carried through an arduous job with fidelity and sound sense.

Students of history will remark the survival of 'Minoan' shapes and motives into the 'geometrical' period (Nos. 155-219) and even into the sixth century (No. 452, Ionian work, to which there is a good parallel now in the Fitzwilliam collection). They will note that mythological figures of a definitely Greek type appear first on 'geometrical' stones—e.g., Pegasus (Nos. 168, 205 ff.), the Centaur (Nos. 173 f.), the Chimaira (No. 208), the Gorgoneion (No. 231), Herakles wrestling with Nereus (No. 212).

The signed gems of the collection include a steatite scarabaeoid (No. 492) by Syries, the earliest known engraver (c. 500 B.C.); a beautiful chalcedony (No. 601) by the fourth-century artist Onatas, with Nike affixing a sword to a trophy; and a choice, though fragmentary, sardonyx cameo (No. 3564) by Ant[eros?] of the Early Empire, representing Paris and Aphrodite. Besides, it can hardly be doubted that the wild goose flying (No. 511), an amazing piece of naturalism, if not also the equally characteristic harper (No. 529), is from the hand of Dexamenos himself. Lovers of beauty will indeed find quite a number of *chef-d'œuvre* in this volume. They must not miss the burnt sard with the man playing a *magadis* (No. 563), the sliced sard with the girl at a fountain, not a mere *stele*, as the Catalogue has it (No. 561), the lapis lazuli with the nude crouching woman who passes a *chiton* over her head and is thereby transformed before our eyes into Aphrodite emerging from a mussel-shell (No. 530).

Identifiable portraits—and some of the very best cannot be identified (e.g.,

Nos. 1182, 1190, 2034)—include, not only a long list of kings and potentates, but also such miscellaneous celebrities as Anakreon, Sokrates, Platon, Aristippos, Demosthenes, Epikouros, Cicero, Horace, Antinoüs.

Among the more interesting religious scenes and personages are the evocation of the dead by Hermes (Nos. 954, 955), divination by means of a human head (Nos. 995-998), a medical consultation in the presence of Asklepios (No. 2176), the bust of Sarapis in lapis lazuli (No. 3939), Hera *Ourania* on a lion (No. 1288), the head of Janus *quadrifrons* (No. 714), the tests of Iuno *Sospita* (Nos. 1032-1035, 1129, 1130), and the remarkable group of deities inscribed *έκκλησία θεῶν ἐν Ολύνπῳ* (No. 1241).

The naturalist can find here animals galore from a sunfish (No. 3972) to a Bactrian camel (Nos. 546, 547), though it might puzzle him to account for a heron 'with large deer's antler in place of crest' (No. 553).

In conclusion let it be said that there are plenty of other problems still to be solved within the two covers of this intriguing book. What did the author of the Platonic *Eryxias* really mean by his statement (400B) that the Aithiopes used λίθοι ἔγγεγλυμμένοι as money? Why should the portrait-bust of an elderly Roman, wearing a cuirass, have a formidable nail stuck in the back of his neck (No. 2043)? How are we to construe

σεργούστ | μουκαιδό | σμοιχαρίν
(Mr. Walters reads *σ(τ)έργούσις μου καὶ δός μοι χάριν*) and round it

τοπωσηφσυνπαρδσγδθητε

. . . (No. 2702)? A cameo with an unintelligible inscription of five lines (No. 3701) is even more of a conundrum and reminds us that a thorough-going Catalogue (better still, a *Corpus*) of 'Gnostic' gems—one of the most urgent needs of late classical archaeology—would form a fitting supplement to the work so well begun by Mr. Smith and Mr. Walters.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

PAPYRI AT CORNELL.

Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University. Edited by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and CASPER J. KRAEMER, Jr. Pp. xx+287; 19 plates. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.

THIS volume may be regarded as the firstfruits of the interest in papyrology which the University of Michigan, represented by the late Professor Kelsey, has done so much to stimulate in the United States. Cornell University has shared in the recent purchases of papyri, and the work of preparing its acquisitions for publication was undertaken by Professor Westermann while still at that University. The issue of the present volume, in which he has collaborated with Professor Kraemer since his removal to New York, marks the commencement of the task of making accessible the already large stock of papyri in American libraries. This volume contains only a selection of the Cornell texts. Five are of the Ptolemaic period, the remainder of the Roman, though one or two from the reign of Diocletian are included. They are carefully edited, with translations, notes,

and detailed introductions, and the excellent facsimiles make it possible to check the editors' readings of many documents. There are the usual indexes.

First editions of papyrus texts, unless the originals are unusually legible and complete, are nearly always susceptible of improvement, and this volume is no exception. There are, moreover, some errors which seem due to lack of experience in the decipherment of papyri, a kind of work which demands long practice. Vitelli has published a number of corrections in *Studi italiani*, N.S. V., fasc. 1, and others might be added; but there remains a large amount of solid and painstaking work, and the volume is a valuable addition to papyrological literature. Several of the documents are of unusual interest, notably Nos. 1, a very important and well-preserved account of oil from the famous Zeno archive, and 20, a collection of returns of landed property, which throws light (particularly as ably interpreted by the editors) on the census of A.D. 302. No. 21, a long tax account, is also made to yield useful results.

H. I. BELL.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VIRGIL'S ART.

The Development of Virgil's Art. By HENRY W. PRESCOTT. Pp. xi+490. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press (Cambridge: University Press), 1927. 20s.

THE purpose of this book, according to the author's preface, is to offer an interpretation of Virgil which shall indicate his place in the history of literature and in the development of literary types. 'In general,' he adds, 'only those features of the poet's art are treated which can be appreciated without a knowledge of the poem in its Latin form.' Yet he claims to have had regard throughout 'for the practical need of teachers and students.' Teachers—if by that term is meant teachers of the classics—may perhaps get some suggestions from the volume. But for the student who either cannot or will not read Virgil in Latin it is, at

best, useless, and may be worse. The analysis of the contents of the *Aeneid*, based on Heinze's *Epische Technik*, of which about half the volume consists, is futile for those who have not read the *Aeneid*; and it is not clear what purpose it serves for those who have. It may be conjectured that anyone who is told that in the Tenth Eclogue there are 'deficient vigour and originality,' not 'redeemed by the expression of genuine feeling,' will conclude that Mr. Prescott must be right in saying that there is hardly more in it than an agreeable prettiness, and will consider himself lucky in being warned off reading it. So, too, with the *Georgics*: 'the details of Virgil's procedure,' Mr. Prescott observes with a touch almost of pathos, 'are not easily described apart from the Latin text'; but why should they be? Or with the *Aeneid*: 'Dido's

story is that of an abandoned sweetheart'; a view possibly deriving from the statement, given as a quotation from Virgil, that 'Dido drank both long and deep of love and wine'—*longumque bibebat amorem!* Here and there, it is only fair to add, one comes on remarks which are appreciative and even illuminating: that Juno throughout 'acts much like the human being struggling against destiny'; that the

action of the wanderings suffers serious disturbance from the prominence given in it to Apollo, 'as a colonisation god' the author says, but also, he should have added, as the new representative deity of the Augustan reformation; that the sufferers in the Mourning Fields are all women; and that in the visions of Book VI. Virgil has avoided contradictions by withholding any explicit statement of theory.

J. W. MACKAIL.

BOURGERY'S LUCAN.

Lucain: La Guerre Civile (La Pharsale). Tome I, Livres I-V. Texte établi et traduit par A. BOURGERY. Pp. xxviii+169 (really 338). Paris: Société d'édition 'Les belles lettres,' 1926 (really 1927). 26 fr.

THIS translation is not quite all that a translation should be.

The meaning of Latin words is not understood. I 442 *tonse* 'rasé', II 103 *stat crux in templis* 'des mares de sang montent devant les temples', 430 *Sabello* 'sabin', 685 *salo* 'l'onde amère' (sale), 707 *ora* 'rivages' (oras), III 485 *perpetuam* (cratem) 'immense', 681 *pinguibus* (taedis) 'grosses,' 687 *recipit fluctus* 's'engloutit dans les flots', 734 *distantis palmis* 'se tordit les mains', IV 241 *tument fauces* 'leur gosier se dilate', 664 *indulxit castris* 'installe son camp', V 132 *pressit deum* 'a chassé le dieu'. I presume that I 482 'antiques' and IV 598 'formes' are misprints (misprints are frequent), and that V 268 'du monde' for *arctois*, 570 'rivage' for *puppim*, and 768 'plus cher' for *tutius* are slips of the pen.

A word capable of two meanings is given the wrong one. I 87 *male concordes* (pestilent cabal) 'concorde peu sûre', 413 (and IV 435) *secundo* (second) 'favorable', 629 *micat* (throbs) 'brille', II 438 *cessere* (fell to the share of) *Peloro* 'se sont éloignés du Pélore', 691 *ultima* (Virgo) 'à son déclin' (she was rising), III 174 *inpiger* (Cephisos) 'diligent', 201 *sparsam profundo* (sea-besprinkled) 'égarée dans les flots', IV 31 *prope* (close) 'presque', 72 f. *summus Olympi cardo* (the occident) 'le pôle de l'Olympe', 109 *medios* (zodiacal and therefore torrid) 'tempérées', 387 *frus-*

tra (ill-advisedly) 'en vain', 496 *nostris fatis* (in our deaths) 'à nos destins', V 389 f. *nomen inane imperii* 'un titre sans pouvoir' (Caesar's consulship!). Add I 235 *tenuerunt*, II 585 *hinc* and *ad*, III 233 *post*, 465 *rapta*, 537 *summis*, IV 431 *cuncias*, V 380 *exit*, 709 *modum*.

Words are wrongly construed in the sentence. I 491 *urget* (quisque) with *impetus*, II 225 *multum* (maiore) with *coitum* (translated as coit), 494 *pauori* (latebras quaesisse) with *satis est*, 578 *pelagi* (metuens) with *fretum*, III 214 *desertus* (predicate) as epithet (of Orontes!), 646 *hac cum parte* (luctata) with *tulerunt*, 762 *primus* (addidit) with *victor*, IV 371 *gurgite* (plenis) with *egens* (and *iam* rendered 'toujours'), 410 *tuta* (acc. plur.) with *fames*, V 8 *belli per munia* (uagos) with *elicit*, 125 *circum latices* (uagam) with *corripuit*, 194 f. *discriminis* (expers) with *minas* and *bellarum* (minas) with *expers*, 398 *tantum* (adverb) with *tempus*, 407 *Brundusii* (tecta) with *undas*, 720 *aquilonibus* (dative) as ablative. Particularly absurd is the translation of *incerta umbra* IV 725.

The sense and even the construction of the Latin is reversed. II 35 f. *nullis defuit aris* | *inuidiam factura parens* 'aucun autel ne manqua de mères, soucieuses de ne pas susciter de jalouse'; 260 f. *ne tantum . . . licet feralibus armis*, | *has etiam mouisse manus* 'ne permettez pas . . . que ces mains aussi brandissent des armes funestes'; 503 f. *ingreditur pulsa fluuium statione uacantem* | *Caesar et ad tutas hostis* (nom.) *conpellitur arces* 'César chasse les défenseurs, entre dans le fleuve et se laisse entraîner jusqu'aux citadelles

sûres de l'ennemi'; III 593 f. *nullam melius . . . carinae | audiueri manum* 'aucune carène n'écouta mieux la main'; IV 656-8 *sed maiora dedit cognomina collibus istis . . . Scipio* 'mais elle (l'antiquité) donna à ces collines un plus glorieux surnom . . . Scipion'; V 102-4 *hoc . . . numen ab humani solum* (nom.) *se labe furoris | vindicat* 'cette divinité ne s'écarte que de la souillure de la fureur humaine'; 149 f. *nullo confusae murmur uocis | instinctam sacro mentem testata furore* 'elle atteste d'une voix trop distincte que son esprit est poussé par un délire sacré'; 267 f. *fudisse cruentem | quid (nos) iuuat?* 'à quoi te tient d'avoir répandu le sang?' 349-51 *quisquis mea signa relinquens | non Pompeianis tradit sua partibus arma,* *hic numquam uult esse meus*, 'quand on abandonne nos enseignes même sans livrer ses armes au parti pompéien, c'est qu'on ne veut jamais être à moi' (the insertion of 'même' inverts the sense and ruins the point, as does 'seul' in IV 573); 458 f. *coepere . . . aquora classem | curua sequi* 'la flotte suivit les ondulations de la houle'; 546 f. *non . . . orbis medii puros exesa recessus* 'les pures lignes de sa courbe étaient rongées'. 694 f. *mundi iam summa tenentem | permisso mari tantum!* 'abandonner à la mer celui qui tient l'empire du monde!' After these experiences one cannot feel sure that 'qui' at V 164 is a misprint for 'que'.

The French sometimes has hardly any relation to the Latin. In certain cases the error can be traced and analysed: II 489 f. *praecipitem cohibete ducem; uictoria nobis | hic primum stans Caesar erit* 'ici pour la première fois César restera immobile' (a whole verse skipped); III 664 *robora cum uetitis prensarent altius ulnis* 'ils cherchaient à saisir plus haut les aunes interdits' (*uetitis ulnis* translated as *uetitas alnos* and *robora* then thrown overboard); IV 22 f. *nam gurgite mixto, | qui praestat* (nomen) *terrīs, aufert tibi nomen Hiberus* 'car, y mêlant la masse de ses eaux, le roi de ces terres, l'Ebre, te ravit ton nom'; V 615 f. *quoties frustra pulsatos aquore montis | obruit illa dies!* 'combien de montagnes jusque-là battues des flots s'effondrèrent en ce jour!' (*quoties* mistaken for *quot* and

frustra ignored). But oftener one is left to guess and wonder: II 126-8 *te quoque neglectum uiolatae, Scæuola, dextræ . . . mactauere* 'toi aussi, Scévola, sans égard pour la main que brûla ton ancêtre, on t'égorgea'; 306 f. *utinam . . . deis . . . liceret | hoc caput . . . damnatum exponere* 'si seulement les dieux . . . me permettaient d'exposer ma tête condamnée'; III 132 *pacis ad exhaustæ spolium non cogit egestas* 'la paix que tu as bannie ne t'a pas réduit à une pauvreté qui te force à nous dépouiller'; 183 *tresque petunt ueram credi Salamina carinae* 'et trois carènes gagnent Salamine qu'il faut pourtant croire véritable'; IV 34 f. *huc hostem pariter terrorque pudorque | impulit* 'dans cette ville la terreur comme la prudence à la fois saisirent l'ennemi'; 154 f. *donec decresceret umbra | in medium surgente die* 'jusqu'à ce que le jour, arrivé en son milieu, commence à décroître'; V 439 f. *nec peruia uelis | aequora frangit eques* 'le cavalier ne brise pas les flots qui lui livrent accès jusqu'aux voiles'.

Lest it should be thought that these specimens are exceptional, I will first give a bare list, itself only a selection, of other mistranslations, many of which are equally bad but cannot be exposed so briefly; and I will then examine the first page, containing only 12 verses.

I 91, 147, 451, 536, 596, II 52 f., 89, 95 f., 212, 214-7, 219, 410-2, 476, 712, 732-4, III 37, 115 f., 143, 194, 208, 251, 253 f., 259, 345 f., 524 f., 548, 624-6, 642, 670, IV 11 f., 60, 112 f., 137, 163 f., 168, 189, 243 f., 534, 615, 684, 733, 818, V 96, 355, 371 f., 385, 411, 483 f., 500-3, 505 f., 549, 602, 706 f., 746 f., 791 f.

I 4 *rupto foedere regni* (when the covenant of tyranny was broken, 86 *foedera regni*) is translated 'rompant l'unité de l'empire'. 8 f. are an exclamation in the Latin, an interrogation in the French, 10-2 an interrogation in the Latin, an affirmation in the French. The *que* of 10, being intolerable, is left untranslated, a refuge to which Mr Bourgery betakes himself again at I 681, III 78 and 327. I may also notice two annotations. '8 et 9 recte coniungi probat Sen. n. q. V 15 3': to say '8 et 9 recte disiungi probant Sil.

I 385, Stat. *Theb.* II 212 sq., Drac. *Rom.* V 1' would be equally false but less absurd. 'II *inulta* : -te Acro *carm.* I 251': this piece of misinformation is copied from Hosius, who took it in 1892 from some now obsolete edition of Acro.

Mr Bourgery often prints one reading or punctuation and translates another: I 397 f., 646 f., II 348, 387, 541, 595, 703, III 276, IV 217, 705, 740-2, V 211, 218, 300, 313, 576. Words, phrases, and even whole verses are left without translation at I 603, II 263 f., 462, 589, 726 f., III 35, 137 f., 320, 441, IV 58, 93, 303, 430, 633, 662, 696, 806, V 89 f., 227, 285, 380, 526, 714.

The few novelties in Mr Bourgery's text are mostly readings taken from the MS which he has made his pet, Z. One of these is *sequemur* II 320, which reminds me that III 722 *caecā tela manu . . . mittit* is rendered 'il lance de sa main . . . des traits aveugles'. He says on p. xvi that he has adopted Z's orthography: he does indeed adopt its false spellings *repulit*, *Sylla*, *sobole*, *littora*, *Aegeas*, but its true spellings *Suebos* and *neququam* he rejects. He has collated it more minutely than

Hosius, and some new details, though not important, are interesting (e.g. V 257 *timorist*); but unfortunately his accuracy cannot be trusted. The dates of the MSS on p. xxvii disagree in four cases with those given in the preface. The explanatory notes on book I contain 28 references to other ancient authors, of which 11 are false. These notes, by the way, chiefly of a somewhat elementary nature, offer scraps of gratuitous misinformation: II 691 'en réalité Pompée partit au commencement . . . de l'été', III 272 *Croeso fatalis Halys* 'Crésus y fut vaincu par Cyrus', IV 322 'c'est sur l'Ida phrygien que les auteurs font habituellement pousser l'aconit', 552 'Jason sema les dents du dragon qui gardait la toison d'or', V 716 *littera* 'sans doute le lambda grec'.

In short, Mr. Bourgery is not fully equipped for his task; and in consequence his numerous decisions and pronouncements on matters of interpretation and criticism, even when fortified with 'sans doute' or 'évidemment,' carry no authority and are of little importance.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

OLD CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

Inscriptiones latinae christianaee veteres.
Edidit ERNESTUS DIEHL. Vol. I., fasc. 6; pp. i-xiii + 401-488. Vol. II., fasc. 1-5; pp. i-400. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925-6. M. 5.25, M. 3.75 each.

THE first five fascicules of this important work were noticed in *C.R.*, 1925, pp. 206 f. Editor and printer have combined to perform a difficult task with signal accuracy, and produced a book as creditable to German typography as to German scholarship. Many of the texts are uninteresting; they have, however, linguistic value (as for instance in presenting such forms as *ispes*, *ispiritus*, *Istratonicæ*, *iscelerata*, *Estephane*, *esponsa*,¹ or again *prinse* for

prouinciae, 3620). The names commemorated are sometimes noteworthy. Particularly striking among new formations is *Refrigerius* (2603: *Refriceria*, 3804C), based on the *refrigerium* or cool calm desired hereafter (cf. 2304 ff.). It illustrates well the otherworldliness which many of these texts show.² By its side the older ideas linger on, as for instance in 2285 *Manes estote boni ut Martis in parc bono quiescat*, which is very like the end of the *Laudatio Turiae* (Dessau 8393. 79 *te di Manes tui ut quietam patientur atque ita tueantur opto*) and in 3387 *cuius spiritus inter deos receptus est*, and the old popular reflections; so 3437 *brue omne quod bonum est*; 3463 *non uitium mors, consuetudo propria natis*; 3525 *ec ton emon panton tuto emon* (cf.

¹ In 3422. 7 *iscanderint* may well be for *scanderint* rather than for *inscanderint*. Whether the numerous Biblical quotations in these texts help us to determine the local prevalence of particular versions, and how far they are liturgically inspired, should perhaps be investigated.

² Cf. 2769 *caruit minas saeculi*; 3348 *mundi tristitias exhorristi*; 3457 *cupidi tamen sumus mortis ut in illum priorem secessum profugiamus*; my *Sallustius LXXIX.* n. 177. On Christian names cf. J. Moffatt, *E.R.E.* IX. 145 ff.

3661); 3865 *cod estis fui et quod sum esse abetis.*

I pass to a few points of detail. 2100 *sanc-torum martyrum qui sunt passi sub praeside Floro in ciuitate Milevitana in diebus turificationis.* The phrase *i.d.t.* is noteworthy as a description of the compulsory offering of incense on pain of martyrdom as recorded in the *libelli.*

2166. 6 *temporis angusti,* cf. Lucan I. 98, not necessarily a reminiscence, though the preceding line contains a clear Horatian quotation.

2167. 10 *ad dñm meliore uia,* cf. Lucan IX. 394 *ad dominum meliore uia.*

2388 *Iesu Christus ligabit te, bratus dei et signillus Salomonix. abis nocturna, non baleas ad anima pura et supra quisuis sis.* *quisquis* is presumably for *quisquis*, and Diehl's suggestion *superam* unnecessary: 'above thee, whatever thou art.' The *auis nocturna* is the owl, which is represented on the plate bearing this inscription. Jewish belief that it was unclean combines with the Graeco-Roman idea that it had the Evil Eye.¹

2388C *inuide quid laceras illos quos crescere sentis?* *tu tibi tortor. tu tecum tua bulnera portas.* With *inuide quid laceras,* cf. Ovid,

¹ Cf. P. Perdrizet, *Bull. soc. ant. France*, 1903, 164 ff. The Latin proverb *eum peius formidant quam fullones ululam* (Varro, *Men.* 539 Buech., used in jest at Pompeii, *Notizie degli scavi*, 1884, 50, 111; 1913, 147 = C.L.E. 1936 Lommatsch) has a double point; the *ulula* is a bird of ill omen, and it is specially connected with the fullers, as both are under Minerva's protection (cf. a Pompeian painting of the fuller's *Quinquatrus* with owls perched on their apparatus; Dar-Saglio, *Dict.* II. 1350, Fig. 3302); there may be an allusion to the night work of the fullers (*Titin. Com.* 27 *nec noctu nec diu licet fullonibus quiescere*) and their pallor, comically interpreted as due to fear of their characteristic bird.

Ex Ponto IV. 16. 1. For the idea of *illos quos crescere sentis*, cf. Sil. Ital. XVI. 188 *o nihil unquam crescere nec magnas patiens exsurgere laudes* | *inuidia.* The view of Monceaux that the text contains a reminiscence of S. Cyprian is uncertain; yet cf. a certain quotation from him in a text from Gaul, 2500B.

2388D *inuide in faciem.* Diehl remarks 'sensus obscurus.' Is it not 'Take this blow in the face (and in particular in the eye, the seat of the envious man's malign power)?'

3303. 6 *di]scede peccator* rather than *in]scede peccator.*

3441.A 10 Perhaps *defensor sacrae sedulus esse domus.*

3826. 3 *cui loco religioso accedere uolo omne edificium adiacens.* Warde Fowler's distinction between *loca sacra*, places legally consecrated, and *loca religiosa*, places about which you feel there is something numinous,² does not hold in Latin use under the Empire; cf. Blume-Lachmann-Rudorff, *Schr. röm. Feldmesser*, II. 460 f., for *l. r.* of graves and the surrounding gardens, etc.

4301. 3 *qui licet inmaturo obitu distitutus, tamen superstibus omnibus filis suis adque uxore defecit* is an interesting example of the strength of the ancient desire that one's offspring should be *superstes*, and deserves to be quoted in illustration of the grotesque example of that feeling in Lucan III. 747 ff.

It would perhaps be rash to imitate the Spartan ambassador and prophecy, 'This book will be the beginning of many dissertations,' but it is safe to say that it will give a new impulse to work on this subject, and be of great service to many whose studies occasionally lead them within its circle.

A. D. NOCK.

² *Hibbert Journal*, V. (1907), 847 f.

MYTH AND CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

Myth and Constantine the Great. By VACHER BURCH, D.D. Pp. x + 232. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press: 1927. 10s. net.

THE present work is intended for the specialist, not for the general reader. This is evident not only from the title, but from the fact that Dr. Burch prefaces his book with no general account of the universally accepted facts about Constantine, but plunges at once into his theme, which is to determine the substratum of truth underlying the legends about Constantine in the *Liber Pontificalis* and other late works. The headings of his chapters are: 'General Observations on the Simpler Constantine Myths,' 'Con-

stantine and Baptism,' 'Constantine and Anthousa,' 'Constantine and Claudian Descent,' 'Constantine and the Founding of the City,' 'Constantine and the Building of Churches,' 'Constantine and the Convocation of the Jewish Disputants,' 'Constantine and Oratory.'

Whether one accepts his contention that a lost *Vita Constantini* forms the kernel of the later legends or not, there can, I think, be little doubt that Constantine was very much in character and acts the man that Dr. Burch represents him to be. The author has a real faculty for penetrating behind the legends, and has written a very attractive book. There is something quite indi-

vidual about his style, though some will dislike its preciousity and the use of such expressions as 'equivalisation,' (his own invention?), 'dislocate' (adjective), 'pendulant,' 'corporal' (adjective), 'reminiscential,' 'muting' (=murmuring?), 'overlooked to explain,' 'natively,' and 'beray' (=disfigure, befoul).

Curiously, the great, and even reconcile, learning of the author coexists with numerous inaccuracies. How far the responsibility for these errors has to be shared by the printer (it might be as well to mention that this book was not printed by the Clarendon Press, though it is published by the Oxford University Press) it is difficult to say. But in the last resort the author must accept responsibility, and the responsibility here is so heavy that many will be deterred from giving the book the attention it deserves. The word 'Sabine' is constantly used with reference to 'Soracte, which was in Etruria, and the author can hardly have realised that Soracte is perfectly visible from the Janiculum, and I should fancy also from the summit of the Capitoline Hill. He speaks as if it were far away from Rome, and is puzzled by its association with the Constantine legends. Other examples of error are: page 21, note 2, 'hominum' for 'hominem,' and 'antiste' for 'antistite'; p. 23, n. 1, 'Laurentianus' for 'Laurentianus'; p. 34, n. 2, 'Socratis calcumine' for 'Soractis cacu-

mine'; n. 3, 'Pothast' for 'Potthast'; p. 37, n. 1, 'Reusen's' for 'Reusens.' In seven lines of Latin on page 47 there are four errors, apart from defective punctuation. At the foot of the same page the erroneous statement occurs: 'the first was in 428, and the second, by the hand of the deacon Grunitus in 430'; this should read 'the first was in 429 (so Mommsen's edition), and the second, along with the deacon Grunitus, by the hand of Aetius in 430,' the Latin being 'Aetius Felicem cum uxore Padusia et Grunito diacono . . . interimit.' On p. 51, the Latin again shows errors; p. 56, n. 2, for 'Codenus' read 'Codinus'; p. 58 read 'gemini' for 'gemina,' and on p. 59 'leuantes' for 'tenentes'; p. 60, n. 1, the first Pliny reference is wrong; on p. 66 'the poet' might have been specified, namely Tibullus II. 5 30; p. 66, n. 2, 'Darembourg' for 'Daremburg'; on p. 67, n. 2, Müller's and Lachmann's editions of Lucilius are quoted, but the author seems never to have heard of the best edition, namely Marx's; in five places (pp. 68 ff.) 'Deubner' appears as 'Dübner'; p. 81, n. 1, correct 'pellices' to 'pulices.' From considerations of space I refrain from detailing many other errors I have noticed. If the author cannot or will not be accurate, he should get a friend or friends to go over all his quotations from other languages, at least in the proof stage.

A. SOUTER.

SCEPTRES, STAVES, AND WANDS.

The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity. By DR. F. J. M. DE WAELE. Pp. 222; 15 full-page and 1 folding plate. The Hague: J. van der Doesstraat, 1927.

DR. DE WAELE, who writes intelligible, if not very idiomatic, English, wins the reader's goodwill by his modesty and keeps it by his candour. Anyone must, if he attempts such a subject as this, labour more or less under the temptation to twist all his available material into fitting his main theme—in the present case, to prove every stick in ancient art and literature a conjuror's wand. This temptation the author successfully resists, and a

not inconsiderable part of his thesis is taken up with showing that a number of classical staves are that and nothing more; for example, that Asklepios' staff is merely a walking-stick in origin.

He starts with Hermes, whose *κηρύκειον* he considers to have been originally no more than a forked stick (in shape like a dowser's rod, but wholly divergent therefrom in its nature and use), which, first by having its ends knotted together, and then by successive elaborations of artists, became the complicated emblem of the god generally seen in classical art. It is a kind of sceptre, a badge of authority, because it contains in some manner the

orenda of a king, whether Hermes himself or Zeus. When Hermes conjures he uses a separate implement, a little wand. The historical herald's staff shows a certain confusion of the two ideas of wand and sceptre. Any, or almost any, god may on occasion use some kind of wand (for instance, Athena does so when she gives Odysseus the semblance of a beggar), for every god has *mana*, and this can either originate in the staff or rod or be conducted through it. A good instance of this is the Dionysiac thyrsos, but, for example, Persephone at Lokroi seems to use a little stirring-rod, presumably to give yet more potency to the mystic cup of which she and her worshippers drink.

Among men there are a few cases of a staff worshipped for its own sake, as the 'sceptre of Agamemnon' at Chaireoneia; but this, as de Waele rightly points out, is a survival, and a not very common one, of savage ways. As regards the judge's staff, he is perhaps too ingenious (p. 120; accepting the etymology of *δίκη* from rt. of *δικεῖν*, he supposes it to have been originally a blow, real or symbolic, dealt by the judge). Coming to Italy, he talks very sensibly about the lictor's rod, the *festuca* and the *hasta*, whether *Martis* or not, but rather fancifully about C.

Popilius Laenas and his circle (p. 142). In dealing with diviners he is distinctly good; in connexion with witches, he produces (p. 138) the curious fact that whereas Kirke regularly has a wand, Medeia as regularly has not.

Since he definitely asks for mistakes and omissions to be pointed out, I note a few: I do not think there are many. P. 60, if the reference to Aeschylus signifies that the cult of Zeus Agamemnon was known in his time, the evidence we have goes back no farther than Lykophron. P. 145, an Italian augur normally faced south or east, not north, and I know of no evidence that he observed only such birds as flew east or west. On the same page: Teiresias was blinded by Hera or Athena, not Zeus; p. 175, n. 7, by 'Gaelic stick' he means the Highland 'fiery cross'; p. 182, does not Pindar, *Isth.* III. 55, mean that Homer measured the greatness of Aias' worth with the measuring-rod of his verse (*πάσαν ὄρθωσαι ἀρετὰν κατὰ ράβδον ἔφρασεν θεσπεσίων ἐπέων*)? Pp. 176-7, he has been misled by Festus, who confuses the *hasta caelbaris*, with which the bride's hair was parted, with the spear from a gladiator's body, used in other, and obviously later, magic. Pp. 203 and 211, he is inconsistent with himself regarding the etymology of *delubrum*.

H. J. ROSE.

ETRUSCAN ART.

Arte Etrusca. PERICLE DUCATI and GIULIO Q. GIGLIOLI. Pp. 104; 156 half-tone illustrations. Rome: Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata. 80 lire.

THIS book contains a brief introduction, a list of painted tombs, a good bibliography, and a text in four sections in which Professor Giglioli deals with architecture and sculpture, Professor Ducati with painting and *Kleinkunst*. Both writers have used the limited space at their disposal well, and the first three sections at least present a readable but not merely popular account of their respective themes. The fourth covers most of a very wide field in a businesslike way, but is necessarily rather more austere.

The fundamental problem of Etruscan

Art—its relation to that of Greece—is nowhere discussed at length. Professor Giglioli underlines the non-Greek element in Etruscan sculpture; Professor Ducati is content to point out Greek derivation here and there without drawing any general conclusions. And this omission is to some extent facilitated by the choice of plates, for these do something less than justice to the small bronzes and altogether omit the engraved gems; and it is probably in these two minor arts that the problem now presents itself in the acutest form, and the Etruscans come into closest and most successful rivalry with the Greeks.

Apart from these omissions the book is a good introduction to its subject. The plates might perhaps have drawn

more widely upon Museums outside Italy, but the objects are excellently chosen and the reproductions in general satisfactory. The resulting display is impressive, nor will anyone who examines it readily accept the disparaging accounts of the Etruscans which he

may read in too many other books (e.g. *Camb. Anc. Hist.* Vol. V.) But the picture must be completed by a visit to some of the Etruscan hill-towns—to Cortona, for example, or Volterra, or, perhaps most exquisite of all, the windy upland of Corneto.

A. S. F. Gow.

SOME CLASS-BOOKS.

A First Latin Poetry Book, from Lucretius to Boethius. Selected and edited by J. E. JAMES. Pp. 88. Bell. 2s.

THE editor provides an attractive selection (forty-nine pieces from eighteen poets, thirty-one pages of text) and, in a short space, gives much interesting information about the authors and their works. The book is meant for the School Certificate standard, and most of the pieces are comparatively easy. They are, however, not free from difficulties which will puzzle the inexperienced reader, and I think the editor would have done well to give a little more help. There are, e.g., no notes on *Georg.* IV. 485-527, except that the story of Orpheus is told in part. I mention this passage because many readers of C.R. will know that when set as an 'unseen' at a more advanced stage it is not found easy. But a few hints would enable an intelligent boy to get a great deal of the sense for himself, especially if the Vocabulary were more nearly complete. He will look in vain for *lex*, *foedus*, *lumen*, *somnus*, and under *condo* and *diversus* he will not find the meaning required in this passage. What is he to make of 'conditque natantia lumina somnus,' if he does not know that 'lumina' means 'eyes' and is told that 'condit' means 'hides'? I think that many teachers would like the book better if it gave more poetry and no Vocabulary.

Selections from Virgil, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. By J. C. ROBERTSON, J. S. BENNETT, and D. A. GLASSEY. Pp. 231. Harrap. 2s. 6d.

THIS is an excellent book for those who are reading Latin poetry for the first time. Such readers naturally find great difficulties with the language, and

they proceed so slowly that they may easily lose interest even in the tale of Troy. But here they will read the story of the first half of the *Aeneid* well told in English prose (varied from time to time by well-chosen pieces of verse translation). In the course of this narrative they will find in their proper context and setting the passages which are to be read in Latin. Hence, however slowly they proceed, they will regard each Latin passage as part of an interesting story. And with a little practice they should be able to read at a moderate pace. The Vocabulary is carefully constructed, and the Notes give the right sort of help. There is a substantial amount of reading, 1100 lines from the *Aeneid* and 230 from the *Georgics*. The editors are evidently good teachers, much interested in Virgil.

Latin Lessons for Beginners. By J. C. ROBERTSON and A. CARRUTHERS. Pp. 462. Harrap. 3s. 6d.

IN this revised edition of their book the authors have cut down the exercises and increased the quantity of continuous reading. In spite of what they say in the Preface, I think that this is a mistake. A considerable amount of new material is introduced in each lesson; my experience is that most pupils need much more practice, especially in turning English into Latin; otherwise they do not get a thorough hold on the new words, forms, and constructions, but have to be continually looking them up. In other respects the book seems to me excellent: it is well arranged, the explanations are clear, the reading lessons and exercises are the work of practised hands. Now and then one comes across a questionable statement: e.g., 'There is no future infinitive passive in common use in Latin.' As a matter of fact,

the form in *-um iri* occurs some sixty times in Cicero, five times in Cæsar. The student is sure to meet it in his reading and should be prepared for it. The pictures are well chosen. The more important among them are carefully described at the beginning of the book and so made far more interesting and instructive. It would be well to state on p. 125 that the restoration of the Forum represents it as it was about A.D. 300. It is given among some stories of early Rome, and I fear that many readers will get the impression that Rome was a city of marble in the days of the Tarquins.

First Latin Lessons. By C. A. PARSONS and C. E. LITTLE. Boston: Heath. 3s. 6d.

THE authors of this book are evidently most earnest in their desire to improve the teaching of Latin. They talk of presenting the language 'not in its merely formal structure, but as a real medium for the expression of thought,' and of bringing about 'a contact in thought and understanding between the pupils of today and the Romans of long ago.' But unfortunately they have not the necessary knowledge of the life and language of the Romans. We read, for instance, of a consul who has a villa somewhere in Italy with a forest near it in which he hunts lions! Here are a few specimens of the language: 'homines et feminae'; 'vir servum diligentia (on account of his diligence) laudat.' This strange use of the ablative is often repeated and perhaps explains the puzzling sentence 'Porsena virtute magna puellae honorem et salutem dedit.' One might suppose that 'Nos qui in America habitamus sunt Americani' was a mere slip of the pen, but the blunder is repeated in the next sentence.

Livy. Book II., Chapters 27 to 47. Edited by M. KEAN. Bell. 2s.

THIS is not a satisfactory edition. The Vocabulary often does not give the meaning required by the text; hence the reader will constantly be baffled in his efforts to make sense, and will probably conclude that it is not worth while to try. How, for instance, can

he make out 'dulcedo legis subibat animos' if *subeo* always means 'undergo'? or 'ad bella externa prope supererant vires' if *supersum* can only mean 'survive'? The Notes give too much help with what is easy, too little with what is hard. Consider e.g. 38. 4: 'Quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri, ideo nos ab sede piorum coetu concilioque abigi?' Many young readers will fail to see that all this depends on *existimasse* in the previous sentence, and that *ideo* is the 'antecedent' to *quod*. But if one gives the direct form in different order (*ideo Volsci . . . abiguntur, quod . . . violaturi sunt*) they should be able to make it out. The editor merely translates *piaculum merituri*, 'would we deserve to pay an atonement offering.' Far from helping, this seems to show that he has misunderstood the sentence.

Virgil's Aeneid. Book II. Adapted for the use of beginners, interspersed with English translations by O. G. E. McWILLIAM. Macmillan. 2s.

MR. MCWILLIAM'S aims are excellent. He wants to enable young boys at Preparatory Schools to read Virgil with some appreciation, and he wants to teach them how to prepare a translation lesson in an intelligent way. He gives them *Aeneid* II. partly in English, partly in Latin. The Latin pieces, the average length of which is about four lines, are chosen because, the context being clear, they are comparatively easy to construe. In the 'Aids' he gives just so much information as in his opinion the boys will need. They are required to make out the Latin without further help. (There is a Vocabulary, but teachers who believe in the method are to forbid its use.) The book certainly has merits. The boys get on with the story at a satisfactory pace. Each Latin piece presents a little problem which by the use of their wits many of them will be able to solve. But there are two objections to the method: (1) If the boys do not know (as will often happen) the words which the editor thinks they ought to know, they will not be able to make the piece out; (2)—a more serious objection—the poem suffers much by being cut up into

such little bits. Would it not be better to use for this sort of training easy pieces of Ovid and then read *Aeneid* II. as a whole? It is surprising that the metre is not explained and quantities are not marked even in the Vocabulary.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon Liber XII. Edited by R. S. LANG. Pp. xxviii + 114. Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. net.

MR. LANG has found in this book a congenial subject. 'Mythology,' he says, 'like all fruits of the human mind, is a study both fascinating and profitable. The "digressions" (if they are digressions) will not have been written in vain if any pupils are led to the study of the standard works or if they realise that similar problems confront peoples in different lands and often receive similar solutions.' These 'digressions' are necessarily of considerable length, but they are very well written and many boys and girls will study the notes on the legends, the suggestions

of modern parallels, etc., with great interest. The editor has used the best books, including the editions of Korn and Ehwald (1916) and of Magnus (1919). He discusses all difficulties fully and gives throughout much scholarly help. The Vocabulary is well made. A good edition for slow and careful study.

Attic Life: Scenes from the Court Speeches of Demosthenes. Selected and edited by C. W. BATY. Pp. xviii + 79. Christophers. 3s. 6d.

THIS book provides interesting reading for a fifth or sixth form. It contains passages from seventeen different speeches, selected to illustrate Greek life in the fourth century. Mr. Baty has chosen his pieces well; he has added to each of them a short introduction, and brief notes at the foot of the page. There are many small misprints, but they will not seriously hamper the reader.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

Euripides Ion, erklärt von U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. THIS book is slight but welcome. It is based on lectures, and we envy the audience. Diligent they were, says Wilamowitz, and diligent they must have been to follow at the outset the elaborate reconstruction of the Xuthus-Ion myth. After that the road becomes easier. Readers as well as listeners will be delighted at the master's zest for poetry; his gallant insistence, in the teeth of pedants, that the play's a play, no more, no less; his wayward humour; his knack of treating even grammar as a gay adventure; his pregnant allusiveness, and perhaps most of all—for the spirit of such youth is contagious—his high oracular hints of long accumulated erudition, held in reserve, but ready to be launched against us if we doubt his word—all 'so natürlich dass nur Stumpfsinn Anstoss nimmt.' On the *Hauptsache*, the poet's dramatic art, the character-drawing, the manipulation of plot, he is admirable. His account of 'Verrall the Rationalist' is, I am glad to see, appreciative: the fact that a man of genius went so far astray shows, as he says, that the play needed reinterpretation. His own view, that there are signs of hasty workmanship and of a contradiction in the poet's mind, is sound. Euripides is here a man of the theatre, exploiting with obvious relish and without pedantry a story rich in human pathos and romance, not the less valuable in his eyes because it gives abundant opportunity for propaganda, patriotic and anti-Delphic.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

Hippocrates. With an English translation by Dr. E. T. WITHERINGTON. Vol. III. (Loeb Classical Library.) Heinemann. Price 10s. and 12s. 6d.

THE third volume of the Loeb Hippocrates contains surgical treatises only, edited and translated most appropriately by one who is himself a surgeon. Technically it is of interest chiefly to those who have specialised in surgery; but for the ordinary scholar it has a more general interest in that it serves to illustrate several points of difference between life in ancient times and life at the present day. In the less violent intercourse of our times the surgeon is concerned not so much, or at least not chiefly, with dislocated joints and cracked skulls, but with diseases whose effects are internal and gradual: he uses the knife, but the ancient surgeon, as the treatises in this volume show, was occupied with the bandage and the splint.

A slight mistake in the Preface needs correction. In the contents of the fourth volume (shortly to be published), instead of *Regimen in Health* i-iii, read *Regimen in Health, Regimen* i-iii.

A. L. PECK.

Modern Traits in Old Greek Life. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) By CHARLES BINTON GULICK. Pp. vii + 159. London, Calcutta, Sydney: Harrap and Co. 5s. net.

THE title of this agreeable, if not very exciting, little essay, is perhaps misleading. The 'modern traits' amount to little more than the recognition that the Greeks were a people of flesh and blood who lived a civilised life, and that their civilisation in fact stands in a very

real historical and spiritual relation to our own. Some lip-service is paid to the title, as when we are invited to notice that Timotheus, like the favourites of modern concert halls, enjoyed displaying his jewelry, and there are some concessions to the modern Greek's natural pride in his racial ancestry. But in substance the book briefly and sensibly reviews the conditions of daily life in ancient Greece under such headings as 'the dwelling, furniture, apparel, food, education, commerce,' and so on. It is written by a competent scholar who knows the facts. It was a pity to spell his name incorrectly on the back of the cover.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

Plato with an English Translation. (Loeb Classical Library.) III.: *The Statesman, Philebus.* By HAROLD N. FOWLER, Ph.D. *Ion.* By W. R. M. LAMB, M.A. Pp. xx + 450. London : Heinemann 1925. Cloth, 10s.

MR. FOWLER'S translation is in about as good English as the style of his originals deserves, and appears to me to be generally accurate, though mistakes occur (e.g., *Polit.* 260B, *ἀγαπητὸν* 'pleasant'; 289B, *εἰ τι μὴ* confused with *εἰ μὴ τι*; 293A, *ἡττων* confused with *τυντον*; 299C, *επιτίθεσθαι κτλ.*, 'to attack the arts of navigation in opposition to the laws'). He undertakes to note any readings adopted that are not in either B or T, and, so far as my observation goes, he does so. Whose collations he has used he does not say. Misprints are rare, but the orthography is antiquated.

W. L. LORIMER.

Plato with an English Translation. VI : *Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias.* By H. N. FOWLER. Pp. viii + 480. W. Heinemann (Loeb), 1926.

MR. FOWLER has produced a translation of these four dialogues that should prove useful for cursory and rapid reading. Some of the footnotes suggest that the translation is intended to be of service to those whose acquaintance with Greek is slight. The needs of this class of reader have been, on the whole, adequately met.

In the case of the *Parmenides* the translation would have been more useful if either a brief explanation of the term *ἰδέα* had been given, or the translation of that term by 'idea' had been avoided. A reader of the *Parmenides*, even though ignorant of Platonic thought, would find no insuperable difficulty in following the argument, provided that the term *ἰδέα* were explained to him. The translation 'idea' would merely mystify him.

A brief introduction precedes each of the dialogues, setting forth its main purpose, with notes on the characters introduced, date, and, in the case of the two *Hippias* dialogues, authenticity.

Mr. Fowler thinks that the *Greater Hippias* is not the work of Plato, merely on stylistic grounds (p. 334). Against this impression may be set the fact, pointed out by Professor A. E. Taylor, that this dialogue is 'tacitly quoted or alluded to several times in the *Topics*', in such a way as to make it probable that Aristotle

regarded it as a Platonic work (*Plato : The Man and his Work*, pp. 13, 14, where see references).

On the authenticity of the *Lesser Hippias* Mr. Fowler is agnostic. Again, Professor Taylor's observation (*ibid.*, p. 35) seems all but decisive in favour of its Platonic origin. 'Its authenticity is sufficiently established by the fact that Aristotle, though not mentioning the author, quotes the dialogue by name as "the Hippias"; such explicit references never occur in his work to writings of any "Socratic men" other than Plato.'

A few misprints may here be noted. In *Parm.* 129E 8, *εἰσδε* should be *εἰσεστι*. On p. 219, B is wrongly reported as reading *ἀνάγκη ἡ*. It gives *ἀνάγκη δ*. *Ibid.*, 138A 9, *δε* after *περιέχον* is a mere 'dittograph.'

H. BOX.

Plato with an English Translation. X : *Laws.*

By R. G. BURY, Litt.D. In two volumes.

II. Pp. 582. W. Heinemann (Loeb), 1926. It is unfortunate that this volume does not contain the *Epinomis*, which follows logically the twelfth book of the *Laws* and should be read in conjunction with it. The addition of this work, while not inconveniently increasing the bulk of the book, would have enhanced its usefulness.

It is difficult to understand why the edition of Baiter, Orelli and Winckelmann (1839) is chosen as the basis of the text. Those scholars made no advance on the work of Bekker and Stallbaum. But Mr. Bury incorporates in his text much recent critical work, including his own additions and emendations.

Some of the readings that deviate from the MS. traditions are not completely convincing. For example:

802E 6. *τὰ δὲ τῶν θηλεῖων* is transposed from before *αὐτῷ* to after *διαφέροντι*. England points out (*Plato : The Laws*, ii., p. 268) that A really reads *ἀνάγκη* and not *ἀνάγκη* in 802E 5, as Burnet discovered, and that this fact 'puts out of court all emendations . . . which assume the reading *ἀνάγκη*'. The expression *αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐκαρέου διαφέροντι* cannot, then, be dependent on *κατεχόμενα* in 802E 6, as the translation of Mr. Bury takes it.

819B 3. *διανομὰς* Wilamowitz, MSS. read *διανομαῖ*: a needless alteration, *διανομαῖ* agreeing with *μαθήματα* (nominative).

819B 7. *καὶ* bracketed by Wilamowitz : needlessly.

961A 8. *δόξαν τοῦτο* Wilamowitz : MSS. *δόξις τούτους*. The MS. reading is not too difficult to stand. Place, with Burnet, a comma after *δόξαι*, which, like *συλλέγεσθαι* above, depends on *δεῖν*.

965A 7. *κεκτημένους* MSS. : *κεκτημένην* Burnet after Wilamowitz. But the MS. reading may agree with *ἥμᾶς* understood (England).

Mr. Bury's own conjectures are not always convincing. Thus, 808D 2, *ἄνουν*. The MS. text can stand, and this word, in the sense required ('brute' as opposed to 'rational being'), is doubtful.

814A 2. The addition of *ἄλλου* is not imperative.

The expression *τὸ τάκινητα κινεῖν* (843A 1-2)

is not parallel to 'Let sleeping dogs lie,' as is suggested in the footnote.

In 905A 2 ἀτυχής is rendered 'luckless wight,' a meaning which, in the context, is pointless. It is better with Apelt to take the word in the sense of ἀμούσος, 'not participating in' (Apelt, *Platons Gesetze*, ii., p. 540, n. 77), a sense found in Aelian, *H.A.* II : 31, σοφίας οὐκ ἀτυχεῖ (quoted by L. and S.⁸ s.v. ἀτυχής). ταύτης τῆς δίκης would then depend on ἀτυχής and not on περιγενέσθαι. H. Box.

predecessors, especially from John Philoponus: passages which are verbally or substantially repeated from commentaries included in the Berlin series are suppressed here. There remains enough to fill 120 pages of Greek text, not a continuous exposition like those of Alexander and his successors, but occasional continuous passages of some length joined by notes on chosen texts, each introduced by a short lemma followed by some such phrase as λοτέον ὅτι. The latest passage treated is *Post. Anal.* A 75b 13.

It is not likely that Aristotelian scholars will find in these pages any important contribution to the elucidation of the master's doctrine, but the textual evidence supplied is not to be despised, as Mr. De Falco points out in his Preface, and those who do not take an unduly narrow view of their Aristotelian responsibilities will find much else of value and interest in these pages. They will be much assisted by care and skill with which Mr. De Falco has performed his editorial duties and by his excellent indices. J. L. STOCKS.

Epicurus: His Morals. Collected and faithfully Englished by Walter Charleton, 1651. Reprinted with an Introductory Essay by FREDERIC MANNING. Pp. xliv + 20 unnumbered + 119. London: Peter Davis, 1926. 15s.

IT was a happy thought of Mr. Manning's to reprint Charleton's *Epicurus' Morals*, for it is a striking record of the interest in Epicurus in English in the seventeenth century, when Epicureanism had been revived by Gassendi, and through him had exercised a profound influence on Charleton's friend Hobbes. Charleton's treatise is founded on the *Letter to Menoeceus* and the *Kύπια Δόξα* preserved in the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius, together with free borrowings from Lucretius. But the material so supplied is greatly expanded and elaborated in a characteristic seventeenth-century manner. Links missing in the ancient record are imaginatively supplied, room is found for virtues such as Beneficence and Gratitude, and the hardness of Epicurean egoism is toned down to suit contemporary feelings. Particularly characteristic and amusing is the introductory *Apologie for Epicurus* (whose pages, by the way, are unnumbered) in which Charleton defends him for his three 'heresies' of the mortality of the soul, the indifference of the gods, and the legitimacy of suicide, all of which are skilfully glossed and minimised in the treatise itself.

Mr. Manning has added an attractive introduction in which he puts Charleton in the setting of his time and his friends, and writes some comments—all too brief—on the relation of the Epicurean pleasure-theory to other ethical theories of antiquity. The view developed on pp. xl and xli that the key to the understanding of the ήδωνή καραστηματική lies in the notion of πράληψις, I think, new, and certainly valuable.

The book is beautifully got up and will be enjoyed as much by the bibliophile as by the scholar.

CYRIL BAILEY.

Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg. Herausgegeben von FRITZ SAXL. Vorträge 1923-1924.

Pp. 277. Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner, 1926. THIS volume of Warburg Lectures is, like its predecessors, full of valuable information and suggestive speculation, and enriched by a large number of excellent and instructive photographic illustrations. In accordance with the general idea of the Warburg foundation, the lectures travel far beyond the ground commonly covered by classical students, and in accordance with precedent most of them seem to be much expanded versions of the spoken word. An exception in both respects is Wilamowitz' lecture on 'Zeus,' which gives a concise account of the origin and history of the cult of the god with special reference to the development of the monotheistic idea. Ernst Hoffmann's elaborate study entitled 'Platonismus und Mittelalter' should on no account be missed by Platonists. We are glad to see that he half-promises a more detailed treatment of this material in a separate work. The study is in a sense misnamed, since fully two-thirds of it has no direct reference to the Middle Ages, but represents an attempt to reconstruct the Platonic system out of the evidence afforded by the middle and latter dialogues. It is one of the most interesting accounts of Platonism that we have read for many years. Other essays that will interest readers of the *Classical Review* are—Richard Reitzenstein's on 'Nordic, Persian, and Christian Notions of the End of the World,' Hugo Gressmann's on 'Greek Influence on Oriental Religions,' and Hans Liebeschütz' on 'The Cosmological Ideas of the Early Scholastics.'

J. L. STOCKS.

Ioannes Pediasimus: In Aristotelis Analytica Scholia Selecta. Edidit VICTORIUS DE FALCO. Pp. xxii + 175. Naples: Sangiovanni, 1926.

FOR the life and times of John Pediasimus, the author of this commentary now published for the first time, Mr. De Falco refers the reader to other works on Byzantine learning. He is content to describe him as 'Bulgariae chartophylax,' and as 'vir valde peritus,' not merely in philosophy but also in mathematics and other subjects. If Jöcher is to be trusted, he was secretary to the patriarch of Constantinople, lived in the eleventh century, and left behind him among other works twelve books on the Labours of Hercules.

Mr. De Falco does not print the whole of the commentary, because Pediasimus, like most late commentators, borrowed heavily from his

*Aristidis qui feruntur libri rhetorici II. Edidit
GUILELMUS SCHMID. Pp. xv+146. Leipzig :
Teubner. M. 6.*

THIS is a new text contributed by the author of *Der Atticismus* to form the fifth volume of the *Rhetores Graeci* published by Teubner. The editor had already, in *Rhein. Mus.*, Vol. LXII. (1918), at some length expressed his views on the questions of authorship, MS. tradition, and the relation of the two treatises to each other and to Hermogenes, and now briefly recapitulates his result in a businesslike Latin preface. It is interesting to note that while preparing the present text he found cause to revise opinions accepted by him in Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* (1895) and in Christ's *Griech. Lit.-gesch.* II.⁸, and his conclusions based on very skilfully marshalled evidence are briefly these: (1) The two treatises are not by the same author; (2) Aelius Aristides was the author of neither; (3) Treatise II., *περὶ τοῦ ἀφέλου λόγου*, was the work of some adherent of the Stoic philosophy, possibly Zenon, a rhetor of the second century A.D.

The present text of Dr. Schmid is a vast improvement on any that has preceded it, and has been prepared with the most uncommon care. Full use has now been made for the first time of the famous *Paris Codex* (P 1741), which contains the chief works of Greek literary criticism that have come down to us, including Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, Demetrius' *De Elocutione* and Dionysius Halic. *De Compositione Verborum*. The editor has shown that P 1741 is the archetype of all the extant MSS. of the *rēx̄va*. A just tribute is paid in the preface to the work of Lars Norrmann, Professor of Greek at Uppsala and afterwards Archbishop, who, with only the Aldine edition before him when he produced his text in 1688, in many passages conjecturally restored the right reading, and in many others made suggestions which if not confirmed by P have materially helped to establish the present text. Dindorf's text (Leipzig 1829) is rightly castigated; it is based on the Aldine edition or inferior MSS., and is in many places untranslatable.

But the excellence of the present text is not simply due to the use made of P. The judgment of the editor is shown at every turn, in the improved punctuation and in the emendations which he has either suggested himself or adopted from others, such as Walz, Spengel and Finckh (an admirable example of an emendation by the editor is to be found in I. § 5). There are some cases where the editor may perhaps be thought to have been too cautious in admitting into the text suggestions made by himself or by others (e.g., I. § 139 and § 145). The *Apparatus Criticus* is a model of clearness, and there is appended a complete *Index Reticulus* which adds greatly to the value of the edition. I have noticed only minor misprints, mostly in the Preface and in the *Apparatus Criticus*.

Perhaps this new text will draw attention to two treatises which have been neglected for the most part in this country. Neither is strictly a *rēx̄vη ῥ̄t̄ropikή*, each is more properly a treatise *περὶ ιδεῶν*, and of importance in

relation to the work of Hermogenes. In particular Treatise II. and Dr. Schmid's view of its authorship will serve to show the high regard in which Xenophon, as the pattern of *ἀφέλεια*, was held in many of the rhetorical schools of the Empire and in Stoic circles generally.

E. D. T. JENKINS.

Libanii Opera. Recensuit RICHARDUS FOERSTER. Vol. IX.: Libanii qui feruntur Characteres Epistolici, Prolegomena ad Epistulas. Imp. cur. EBERHARDUS RICHTSTEIG. Pp. 251. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Unbound, R.M. 6.20; bound, R.M. 8.

THIS volume, written in 1920, completes the gigantic undertaking of the late Professor Foerster of Breslau in bringing out a critical edition of the works of Libanius. The work occupied him continuously for fifty years, during which time he read through every MS. of this voluminous writer, and it fills more than 6,600 pages. Vols. X. and XI., comprising the Epistles, and Vol. XII., containing an index of proper names, made by Dr. E. Richtsteig, the editor of the present volume, had already appeared. This volume exhibits the meticulous care and amazing wealth of detail with which the readers of the previous volumes are familiar. It contains the spurious *ἐπιστολάριαιος χαρακτῆρες*, then the Prolegomena to the Epistles, including (1) an account of the MSS. and editions; (2) a final word on the purpose of the whole edition. Foerster examined more than 250 MSS. which have a bearing on the Corpus of the Epistles, besides 160 more which contain only a few of them. It is interesting to find that he accepts as genuine Libanius' letters to the two bishops, Amphilochius and Optimus, who had been students of his, but rejects the letter to John Chrysostom and the correspondence between Libanius and Basil. Vol. IX. was put in the hands of Richtsteig, a fine scholar, and one of the leading authorities on Libanius, with instructions to make it as brief as possible. This he has done, largely by a judicious system of abbreviations, but nothing essential appears to have been omitted. For his work we have nothing but praise; and Foerster himself (p. 244) gives high commendation to R.'s able treatise, *Libanius qua ratione Platonis operibus usus sit* (Breslau, 1918).

G. MIDDLETON.

Über den Sprachgebrauch des Longus. Inaugural-Dissertation von GUNNAR VALLEY. Pp. vii+110. Uppsala : Edv. Berlings Nya Boktryckeri A.-B., 1926.

THIS useful dissertation opens with a brief discussion of some of the MSS. The author claims that his investigation of A in photograph has enabled him definitely to decide many disputed readings and tends to rehabilitate the shaken authority of Courier. B, he suggests very plausibly, is not a lost MS., an ancestor of the Ursiniani, but itself one of the Ursiniani—Vat. 1348.

Turning to linguistic questions, both in forms of words and in syntax Mr. Valley would allow Longus much greater freedom than has been

allowed by editors. He contends (rightly, if MS. authority means anything) that late Greek authors used alternative forms indiscriminately (*e.g.* γιγνομαι, γινομαι; κλαω, κλαιω; -σσ-, -ττ-; augmented and unaugmented pluperfects) and that it is wrong to try to force uniformity upon them. In defence of syntactical abnormalities he offers imposing lists of parallels, but the uncertainty of the text of some of the writers to whose authority he points makes some of his generalisations hazardous. The reviewer, for instance, who is acquainted with the MSS. of Heliodorus, cannot accept Heliod. 5. 33 (cited p. 40) as an example of οὐτε=ne . . . quidem; for the best MSS. give οὐδέ. The same applies to 4. 1 (p. 38²). But the unsoundness of some of his examples does not invalidate his main thesis that Longus must be allowed considerable laxity. In vocabulary he demonstrates that Longus uses many late words (against Rohde) and few poetic words (against Schmid), and that Ionic words are common.

The last chapter is devoted to the popular but rather useless task of finding parallel passages in earlier authors and making the doubtful deduction that they must have influenced Longus. Mr. Valley prides himself on new discoveries, but their value is questionable. The linguistic part of his book, however, will be indispensable to future editors.

R. M. RATTENBURY.

Fitzwilliam Museum: Catalogue of the McClean Greek Coins. By S. W. GROSE. Vol. II. Greek Mainland, Aegean Islands, Crete. Pp. 563; 248 collotype plates. Cambridge: University Press. £5 5s.

MR. GROSE is to be congratulated on the rapidity with which he is completing his monumental catalogue of the McClean collection. The first volume, containing three thousand odd coins of Italy and Sicily, appeared in 1923; the second contains nearly two and a half times as many, and carries us as far as the Cyclades; and the third, which is well under way, will presumably complete the catalogue. This is not the place for such few detailed criticisms on numismatic points as might be made. Mr. Grose follows in general the established lines of classification, and only deviates from them where a more recent attribution—for instance, that of the early 'heraldic' coins to Athens—has been generally accepted. The descriptive work is thoroughly sound, and eight indexes are provided covering every conceivable point on which classified information might be required. The present volume is not so important as the previous one, in that the various series which it describes are not nearly so full as were those of Magna Graecia and Sicily, on which the late Mr. J. R. McClean had lavished special care. All the same, it provides a valuable mass of material, among which may be mentioned the fine series of so-called *Aes Grave* of Olbia, of fifth-century staters of Melos from the find made some twenty years since, and of Cretan coins.

It is earnestly to be hoped that some benefactor will now come forward to publish the Leake coins which unite with the McClean to place

the Cambridge Cabinet in the front rank of public collections. E. S. G. ROBINSON.

Campaigns in Palestine from Alexander the Great. By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS. Schweich Lectures, 1922. Pp. x+55, one plate and a map. London: Oxford University Press, 1927. 5s.

THESE three lectures are a tribute paid by a great Jewish scholar, the late Dr. Abrahams, to Palestine as the battle-ground of nations; they are edited by Mr. S. A. Cook, who contributes an appreciative notice of the author. The third lecture ranges discursively from Titus to Allenby. The first two possess a unity in the figures of Alexander and Judas Maccabaeus, though they do not advance our knowledge much where they deal with Hellenistic matters, of which the author's view is too often the old conventional one. He holds that Judas' campaigns saved Judaism; but it is so certain that the Seleucids, but for their own dissensions, could have reduced Judaea whenever they chose to give their mind to it, that the author's position needs an explanation it never gets, though he does suggest the importance of the *passive* resistance. Neither does he attempt any real explanation of why Antiochus IV. acted as he did; and Alexander's alleged visit to Jerusalem is discussed at length and accepted without mention, *e.g.*, of the fact that Theophrastus, who reproduced the knowledge acquired by Alexander's expedition, thought the Jews were star-gazers who had invented human sacrifice—a fact which by itself suffices to render it impossible. But as lectures they are quite interesting, and often contain shrewd observations, as on the topography of Judas' campaigns and the meaning of the term 'little horn.'

W. W. TARN.

Recherches sur la Chancellerie et la Diplomatique des Lagides. By PAUL COLLOMP. Pp. viii+245. 'Les Belles Lettres,' Paris, and Oxford University Press, 1926. 9s.

THIS study of the *enteuxis* or petition is a good book, careful and thorough. Professor Collomp lists, analyses, and examines the formulae of all the known *enteuxesis*, including numerous unpublished documents from Magdola, and his patient minuteness ultimately elicits some interesting historical conclusions. In the third century, petitions addressed to Ptolemy were usually dealt with by the generals of the nomes, but did sometimes reach the king himself. By the second century, many matters were addressed directly to the generals, but they could no longer handle petitions addressed to Ptolemy; these, however, only reached, never the king himself, but two officials, the *epistolographos* for those that came as letters, the *hypomnemographos* for those presented personally; neither official can be traced in the third century, though Collomp reserves the question whether they existed. Ptolemy, then, had become theoretically more but practically less accessible to his subjects, while the Greek generals were no longer his delegates; naturally one says 'Raphia,' and in fact the author by

the aid of *P. Frankfort* 7 dates the change to that time. Other points well brought out are the extreme rarity of the use of *ἀδκία* in complaints against officials—the king's bureaucracy can do no wrong ; the formulae which address the king as a good little Providence, where Collomp fruitfully suggests as the interpretation of certain royal utterances that perhaps the Ptolemies, through everlastingly hearing that they protected the weak and dispensed justice, really came to believe it ; and the common allusion to Ptolemaic world-rule, that worn-out relic of the old religion. Petitions everywhere inevitably follow certain lines (as the Ptolemaic are here shown rooted in Athenian forms) ; and a hope that Ptolemy may rule the *oecumene* means exactly what an English petition now means by its concluding formula, ‘And your petitioner will ever pray etc.’—that is, just nothing at all. Those obsessed by ideas of Macedonian world-rule, Ptolemaic or other, might study the *enteuxesis* and their bearing on the matter. The book has four indices and a *table analytique*. W. W. TARN.

into which Seleucid Syria broke up, the title *ἴεπα καὶ ἀσύλος* needed thorough discussion. But naturally every reader will find among this mass of details things he does not accept. It is more important to emphasise the amount of new light thrown on provincial boundaries everywhere and the many problems solved—e.g. Coele-Syria was the name of the Ptolemaic province, and Parapotamia is correctly located (as independently by Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, p. xxv). Above all, for the first time Hellenistic Syria emerges from the shadows and begins to take shape. W. W. TARN.

Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes). Recensio Vetus. Ed. GUL. KROLL. Pp. xvi + 166. Berlin : Weidmann, 1926. M. 9.

THIS book is an edition, with critical apparatus, of the text of the oldest Greek version of *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, that called A' ; another volume, to be edited by J. Kroll, will contain B' and C'. It is eighty years since Müller edited *Pseudo-Callisthenes* in the Didot *Arian* ; much material has come to light since, and W. Kroll's edition will henceforth be the standard text of A'. He has collated afresh the difficult MS. on which A' depends ; and in the preface, a model of concise information, he considers the relationships of the various versions which help towards the reconstruction of the text, and explains the use he has made of them. Among other things, he attaches little importance to the once praised Leyden MS., and holds that much the most important aid to the restoration of A' is the fifth-century Armenian version, especially where it and Valerius agree. He defends his view that the account of the poisoning of Alexander in the *History* comes from the Metz *Epitome*, and not *vice versa* as Ausfeld and Wilcken argued ; and as the account of Alexander's death is missing from A', he has inserted in his text (in Greek) an account based on that one of the two Armenian accounts which agrees with Valerius in knowing nothing of the poisoning ; the oldest Greek text is thus freed from Olympias' propaganda story that her son was poisoned by Antipater's son, which is interesting. On the genesis of the *History*, Kroll restates the difference between himself and Ausfeld : he believes it only took shape c. 300 A.D., though it contains older material inserted ; Ausfeld thought of a Hellenistic nucleus. The book seems an excellent piece of work, and a good text in handy form is welcome. There is a useful index of unusual words and phrases, beside one of proper names.

W. W. TARN.

Syrische Territorien in hellenistischer Zeit. By U. KAHRSTEDT. Pp. 156 ; 6 maps on 3 sheets. Berlin : Weidmann, 1926. M. 18. THIS book breaks much new ground, and forms a valuable contribution to knowledge. The subjects treated—there is, unfortunately, no list of chapters—are the satrapies before Seleucus, the changes of boundary in the Syrian wars, Syria under the Ptolemies and Seleucids respectively, the boundaries of the Judaean state, the break up of Seleucid rule in Syria, and the Roman reorganisation. An appendix seeks to establish that from 166, perhaps to 153, the Maccabees used a national Jewish year, beginning in spring and not (as the Syrian Seleucid year) in autumn ; a second appendix argues that the bulk of the Egyptian Jews followed the ‘schism of Onias’ and looked to Leontopolis. Over the Syrian wars I feel two difficulties. One is Kahrstedt's contention that till 198 the important Damascus was normally Ptolemaic ; for though evidence hardly exists, still, if Damascus first became (temporarily) Seleucid in 275, how is the loss to Egypt of such a city compatible with that conception of a highly successful war which underlies Callimachus, Theocritus, and Arsinoe's honours ? The other is Kahrstedt's belief that in 301 Seleucus only got what was afterwards the North Syrian *tetrapolis*. Now Strabo shows that at some time the Eleutherus must have divided Phoenicia, which in Kahrstedt's scheme it never does ; and after his careful analysis there is only one place for it, 301-273. The old view, then, is probably still correct : Seleucus in 301 got Aradus and Damascus and whatever they entailed. Other difficulties which struck me are the defects in the attempted proof that after 198 all Ptolemaic Syria became one Seleucid generalship, and the complete failure of the evidence cited (p. 42) for Judaea as an administrative unit under the Ptolemies (it was a priest-state under Egyptian suzerainty) ; while in the best chapter in the book, the full and fresh account of the fragments

Arrien : L'Inde. Texte établi et traduit par PIERRE CHANTRAIN. Pp. 92. Paris : ‘Les Belles Lettres,’ 1927.

A NEW and handy *Ινδική* was seriously needed, and M. Chantraine's is welcome, though his commentary has shortcomings : the Budé scheme of notes under the translation allows too little scope, at least without appendices. The preface does not estimate Nearchus' place in geographical discovery, as do Grote and

Bunbury : it goes with this that Scylax is mentioned, but no position taken (unless by omission ?) towards the alleged Indus-Red-Sea voyage of Hdt. IV. 44. One expects also some reference to Pliny's *nec nomina habet manionum nec spatia*.

Arrian's treatise, in an artificial Ionic which troubles editors, falls into two dissimilar parts. For cc. 1-17, the general account of India, the notes would have gained greatly from Bevan's chapters in the *Cambridge Hist. of India*, I. (1922), which is never mentioned. For Part II., the voyage, Tomaschek's identifications should have been explained and justified (*cp.* Herzfeld's criticisms in *Klio*, 1908, 7) : anyhow the Arabis should not be one river (Hab) in the notes and another (Purali) on the map. Makran is remote, but more recent English accounts than Kemphorne's were available. The old and the new (island) Hormuz are not distinguished, and one notes other obscurities. The last chapter is uncertainly handled : see now Tarn in *C.R.* 1926, 13.

The map, which might have shown also Alexander's march, has no modern names and is too sketchy. There is a useful index.

J. O. THOMSON.

Le Péripole de la Mer Érythrée, suivi d'une Étude sur la Tradition et la Langue. By HJALMAR FRISK. Pp. 145. Gothenburg : Wettergren and Kerber, 1927. 8 kron.

MR. FRISK intended at first only a special study of his author's linguistic usage. This is now represented by some sixty pages forming a useful treatise on the Koine. The existing editions, of which Fabricius' is very severely criticised, soon proved quite unreliable for his purpose, whatever their merits for the matter, and he went himself to the famous Heidelberg MS. His scientific recension, admirably printed, will be indispensable for a text which has suffered much from arbitrary rewriting. Mr. Frisk abstains from discussion of the interesting historical and geographical matter, but for Mommsen's view (*Röm. Gesch.* V. 611) of Roman dealings with Aden it may be noted that, like Rostovtzeff, Kornemann, and Schur, he has no doubt in 26 of *Καίσαραν αὐτήν κατεστρέψαρο*.

J. O. THOMSON.

Logios. By EMIL ORTH. Pp. iv + 108. Leipzig : Robert Noske. M. 9. THIS book consists of a collection, with brief notes, of all passages in which occur the words *λόγιος* and *λογιότης* (but not *λόγιον*). The sum of the author's conclusions is that *λόγιος*, probably Ionic by origin, does not appear in any true Attic author, nor in any poet but Pindar before the Christian era. From then on it is common in two meanings—(a) erudite, well educated ; (b) brilliant in style, eloquent. At times the author seems somewhat arbitrary, occasionally even wrong-headed, in deciding which meaning to assign to the word in a particular passage. For example, when Strabo says that Theophrastus received his name because of his φράσεως ζῆλον, 'ἀναντας μὲν γὰρ λογίους ἐποίησε τοὺς μαθητὰς Ἀριστοτέλης, λογιώ-

ταρον δὲ Θεόφραστον,' the meaning must be that he was the greatest stylist, not the greatest scholar (p. 37). Indeed, on another page (p. 35) this passage is referred to in a context which assumes this 'rhetorical' meaning.

In general, one cannot help feeling that Dr. Orth has been unfortunate in choosing for his study a word which has hardly repaid the labour he has evidently devoted to it.

F. H. SANDBACH.

Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt edidit U. P. BOISSEVAIN. Volumen IV. Index historicus. Pp. 706. Berlin : Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 42 M.

Dionysi Halicarnasensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt edidit C. JACOBY. Supplementum indices continens. Pp. iv + 69. Leipzig : Teubner, 1925. Cloth, 3 M.

AFTER twenty-five and twenty years two valuable texts have been rounded off. Jacoby's index is compact and good; Boissovain's is very copious, yet so well arranged as to answer to every need without waste of time.

E. HARRISON.

Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period.

By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. Pp. xx + 208. 39 plates. London : John Murray, 1926. 24s. net.

MRS. VAN BUREN, who has previously earned the gratitude of archaeologists by her books on Italian architectural terra-cottas, has now turned her attention to Greece, with the good results here well presented. Greek architectural terra-cottas of the archaic period are illustrated by one coloured and thirty-eight half-tone plates, and there is a brief account of each of the sites whence they come, a catalogue of all the pieces concerned, and a comparative table. It is extremely useful to have this Greek material, mostly unpublished and scattered up and down Greece, made available for further study. Except for Olympia and Thermos too little attention has been paid to this class of object which for the archaic period is extremely interesting, both from the artistic point of view in the development of Greek ornament and from the architectural for the better understanding of the use of wood and terra-cotta in the construction of early buildings.

Some of the finest pieces are those from Korope and the Acropolis, while the Bassae disc, to judge by its fragments, must have been most effective when *in situ* on the roof of a temple. The Thermos pieces might have been more fully discussed with the metopes, especially from an architectural point of view ; in any case, however, the antefixes with the Satyrs and male and female heads are as good as any of their kind. This is a field which deserves further study. The important remains from other sites, e.g. Corinth, which here whet our appetite, we should like to see exhaustively treated, and we much hope Mrs. Van Buren will be encouraged to continue her work. We note some points which might be improved—measurements of the pieces in the catalogue and the scale of illustrations should be given. The spelling of

names like *kymation* or *akroterion* should all be made uniform, either Latinised completely or left in their Greek dress. Greek place-names, ancient and modern, have cost the author a good many mistakes—for instance, Homolion (not Homilion) is not in South but in North Magnesia, near Tempe. Some scheme should be devised to make the numbers in the catalogue, in the comparative table, and on the plates agree with one another, as it would facilitate reference and prevent bad temper from diminishing our gratitude to the author.

A. J. B. WACE.

Térence en France au XVI^e Siècle. Editions et Traductions par HAROLD WALTER LAWTON. Pp. 570. Paris: Jouve et Cie, 1926. 8s. 6d.

P. J. H. MÜLLER: *De Veterum Grammaticorum in Terentio Studiis Criticis.* Aachen: Ex typographia 'Buco,' 1926.

REGARDING Terence as an important factor in the history of Humanism in France, Dr. Lawton sets out to ascertain all that is known about French editions and translations of 'the African' during the sixteenth century. But with commendable thoroughness (and an almost pre-bellum disregard of space) he feels bound to enumerate every edition published in Western Europe from 1470 (*editio princeps*) to 1600. An introductory chapter summarises the evidence for knowledge and appreciation of Terence roughly between the Augustan Age and the invention of printing. Here Dr. Lawton has not always used the latest authorities. He might modify or supplement some of his statements. For instance, the MS. *v* (of Valenciennes) belongs to the eleventh century. A second introductory chapter deals convincingly with the characteristics of Terence which commended him to sixteenth-century France. French translators (sixteenth century) of Terence, their differences, their defects, their progressive mastery of the matter (Dr. Lawton gives an exhaustive account of the commentaries at their disposal) and the manner of Terence, are described in an admirable concluding section. Throughout the author keeps in view the general question of Terence's popularity in France, for he promises a companion volume treating specifically of Terence's influence on French literature, especially Comedy, and this first volume gives the *a priori* evidence. Students of Terence welcome the first instalment of what will be a handsome contribution to the history of the modern European mind as a derivative of the Graeco-Roman. Some misprints are not in the list of errata. On p. 304, l. 1, for 'Asperus' read 'Asper'; p. 49, l. 23, for 'des cena dubia' read 'd'une c. d.' A detailed index of persons is desirable.

Dr. Müller attacks a problem of first-rate importance for editors of Terence's text. That text, as we have it in the minuscule MSS. (and even in the *Codex Bembinus*), has been largely tampered with. Substitute words, forms, tenses, etc., appear frequently in the MSS., some or all. Given the true Terentian reading, one may guess the nature of a substitute; not

seldom one is at a loss to explain the motive for change. Assume that Terence has been edited as a school-book and you can label substitutions as 'classical construction,' 'regular form,' etc. But a large element of uncertainty remains. Dr. Müller takes the very reasonable course of interrogating the Latin grammarians on points of correct Latinity and deviations therefrom. From them, if at all, precise answers must come. He ransacks their pages, and under their headings classifies and explains a host of substitute readings. There is a danger (he is aware) that grammarians' rules may be called in to explain what are merely scribal errors or scribal caprice. Sometimes one feels that he is too 'methodical.' He has had to rely on Umpfenbach's *apparatus criticus*, which is now superseded by Kauer's invaluable collation of Terence MSS. The attribution of readings to such-and-such groups of MSS. must therefore be carefully checked. One point more: Donatus *lemmata* should not now be given the weight of readings known to, or approved by, Donatus. With these cautions, however, Dr. Müller's dissertation can be recommended as the most thorough and illuminating treatise on this important side of the critical study of the text.

J. D. CRAIG.

Seneca, Phaedra, herausgegeben und erläutert von DR. K. KUNST, A. Ö. Prof. der klass. Philologie an der Univ. Wien. Two vols. Text, pp. 66; commentary, pp. 88. Wien: Österreichischer Schulbücherverlag, 1924.

EDITIONS of Senecan plays are becoming quite frequent; one may hope that the severest critics of Senecan drama will some day brace their nerves and e'en read it. This edition is intended for schools and Universities. It contains a good account of Seneca's life and works, taking cognisance of their relation to their Greek models and their metres; a text in which due regard is had to textual criticism, and various passages which seem to be alternative versions are printed side by side (see pp. 27, 29, 39, 41); an account of the Phaedra legend and its treatment by dramatists before and after Seneca's time; sixty-eight pages of exegetic commentary, intended mainly for schools; and twenty pages of critical notes—all for the sum of about two shillings. The work seems to me very well done: the only slips I have noticed are an impossible interpretation of *malignus* at l. 16 ('uebelwollender'), and a wrong explanation of *sic* in l. 477, where the meaning is simply: 'so obstinately do we seek death, one would think causes of death were rare.' The explanatory notes seem often very elementary for the kind of student who has proved himself fit to cope with Seneca; they are also overladen with philology, and sometimes they combine both weaknesses—as e.g., in the note on l. 81, '*diva* substantivisch = *dia*. Aus der Grundform *deivos (vgl. die atlanteische Duenos-Inscription) entwickelte sich &c.' However, as no important difficulty is left unnoticed, one really has no right to complain.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura: ein Beitrag zur Stilistik des Spälateins. By MAX BERNHARD. (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 2.) Pp. xii + 366. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927. M. 23.

THIS is a very valuable book. The author is thoroughly familiar with Apuleius' writings, and has been remarkably successful in classifying and analysing the characteristics of his language and style. The book deals chiefly with the *Metamorphoses*, but there are also good studies, on a smaller scale, of the *Florida*, the *Apologia*, and the authentic philosophical works, and excellent comparisons between these and the *Metamorphoses*. In a book so full of detail it is not surprising to find many small points open to criticism. For instance, in II. 15, *ut arbitrio nocturni gannitus ablegarentur*, *gannitus* is clearly genitive singular, not nominative plural (p. 102), though Bernhard could have quoted a true instance of this plural from IV. 1; on p. 125 *anum sed admodum scitulam* (I. 7) and *ferrum quaerit abscondere sed in suo pectore* (V. 22) should not be included among the examples of the non-adversative use of *sed*; nor should *et nunc iacet noster Lamachus elemento toto sepultus* (IV. 11) be quoted to illustrate the hypallage of the adjective (p. 215). There is a false quantity on p. 247, *adiecit* being scanned UU ; the context shows that this is not a misprint, and the true scansion in fact supports the thesis which Bernhard is here maintaining. The book is beautifully printed and produced, but there are many misprints, such as *asimum* for *animum* (p. 39), *mulierum* for *muliebrium* (p. 193).

Some more general criticisms may fairly be made. The author tends to exaggerate sound points. There is, for instance, far more periodic writing in the *Metamorphoses* than the language of pp. 36 ff. suggests. He seems, too, to exaggerate Apuleius' direct debt to contemporary popular speech, in contrast to the archaic use of consecrated vulgarisms. Some of his classifications are artificially over-elaborate; for example, those of metaphors on pp. 189 ff. Further, his lists of illustrations are sometimes too long or too short; they are not exhaustive, and a smaller number would have established his point. Some striking phrases, such as *puerile corollarium* (III. 20), have escaped the comment which they deserved.

The faults of the book, however, are trivial beside its merits, and it will be invaluable to Apuleian students. There is a good account of the *clausulae*, with full statistics, and a strong case seems to be made out for the view that in Apuleius' prose a final short vowel followed by *m* was reckoned as metrically equivalent to one followed by *n*.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Claudians Gedicht vom Gotenkrieg. Herausgegeben und erklärt von DR. HELMUT SCHROFF. Pp. 86. Reproduction of signet ring gem picturing Alaric. Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1927. R.M. 5.40.

THE appearance of an exegetical edition of even one of the longer poems of Claudian is an event of some interest. The nineteenth-century

editions of this poet, those of Jeep, Birt and Koch, are all critical, and for exegesis one has to go back to the admirable but now antiquated Gesner (1759). (The Delphin edition of the younger Burmann [1821] and Artaud's Paris edition of 1824, though derivative and inferior, should at least have been mentioned in the bibliography.)

Dr. Schröff's edition of the Gothic War is a careful and thorough piece of work. An introduction of fourteen pages gives an adequate account of the very confused period that falls between the battles of Adrianople and Pollentia. For the date of this latter battle Dr. Schröff accepts what, since Seeck's article in the *Forsch. z. deutsch. Gesch.*, may be called the orthodox view—viz., Easter day 402. It is a pity that the rival theory (Easter 403), accepted by Clinton and ably defended by Dr. Crees (*Claudian as an historical authority*), is passed over almost in silence.

Dr. Schröff is conservative in his text. He departs seldom from Birt, and when he does so it is not as a rule to improve on him. *Levat* (I. 51), though attested by more MSS. than is *leva*, is clearly the worst reading, and the MSS. *belloque* of I. 153 is, as Birt saw, impossible. Considering the *devia rerum of de rapt.* *Pros.* III. 316, Koch's *devia rura*, accepted by Dr. Schröff, is perverse. Ll. 346-348 are difficult, but one doubts whether Dr. Schröff's *trepidis* for *tepidis* really helps matters. In the vexed passage ll. 581-583 Dr. Schröff cuts the Gordian knot by printing Bæhrens' *ductor* for the MSS. *docuit*. This, if arbitrary, at least gives good sense, which is more than can be said for Dr. Schröff's rearrangement of ll. 586-589. The *tamen* of I. 588 to which the editor objects is, if unexpected, at least possible. Dr. Schröff is, however, probably wise in abandoning Birt's *sic* (I. 91) and returning to the MSS. *si*, as he is in accepting, against Birt, Heinicus' *fulva* (I. 223) and *animis receptis* (I. 406) for the MSS. *fulta* and *animi recepti*.

In the matter of exegesis Dr. Schröff is somewhat too generous. His average page contains ten lines of text and forty-four (double column) of notes. These notes consist largely of parallel passages which often try to compensate in bulk for what they lack in illustrative value or even, in some cases, in appositeness. *Inertes dominos* (I. 157), for instance, does not require for its understanding the note: *inertes: schon Naev. carm. frg. 23 homines belli . . . inertes.* (There is no genitive in the Claudian passage.) For the obvious metaphor *ver . . . viridem reparavit amictum* (I. 168) we are given eight parallel passages. Still more portentous is a note of forty-eight lines in illustration of *galeisque Padum victricibus haus* (I. 532). But it is ungrateful to complain of being killed by kindness, and the quality of *de bell.* *Get.* makes us hope that Dr. Schröff, taking *copiaque ipsa nocet* as his motto in exegesis, will follow it up by the complete edition of Claudian that is so long overdue.

M. PLATNAUER.

Die Geschichte (sic) der römischen Dichtung im Zeitalter des Augustus: Erster Teil, Vergil, von KURT WITTE. Pp. viii + 180. Erlangen: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1927. M. 14.

THE earliest published part of this work was noticed in 1926 (pp. 42 f.) and deals with Tibullus. The main purpose of the present part, which is much larger, is to study the ancient 'form- (or plan-) consciousness' in the *Georgics*. A careful and minute analysis of the poem is provided, in the course of which the author shows that Virgil was not writing a handbook of agriculture, but intended merely to give a poetical treatment of the subject. The sources of the matter, such as the writings of Hesiod and Varro, are set forth. Much of this is, of course, familiar to students of the *Georgics*, but the writer of this work seems to owe little to previous investigators, to whom indeed there are very few references. The treatment of the subject is for the most part independent, and some notable names are severely handled in the last chapter, 'Gestalt und Gehalt,' which is perhaps the most important in the book. The parallels between the different books of the *Georgics* are stated with great fulness. The book is in a measure a protest against minute verbal exegesis, and an exhortation to the study of ancient works according to their general plan. The writer appears to have his own countrymen particularly in view. He makes no reference to the valuable work done on Virgil in this country, and indeed it may be doubted if the lesson he seeks to teach needs enforcement on this side of the channel. The index gives references to passages quoted from Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus.

A. SOUTER.

The Life of Rome: Illustrative Passages from Latin Literature. Selected and translated by H. L. ROGERS and T. R. HARLEY. Being an English edition revised and amplified of *Roman Home Life and Religion*. Pp. xii + 264. With 20 illustrations of Roman antiquities and sites. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1927. 6s. net.

THE earlier work of Messrs. Rogers and Harley, published in 1923, has proved an interesting and useful text-book. In it certain passages were given in Latin and others in English. The present edition is entirely in English, the verse translations being the work of Mr. Rogers, those in prose of Mr. Harley. The passages have been rearranged; eight new passages have been added (Cicero, *De Fin.* III. 2, 7; Tacitus, *Dial.* 28-35; *Agrič.* 4, 5; Horace, *Sat.* I. 6, 62-99; Lucretius, VI. 1138-1286; Tacitus, *Agrič.* 46; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* I. 29-31; Hadrian the Emperor, *Anima*); the notes have been curtailed by the omission of those referring to the latinity of the passages; and a number of beautiful illustrations have been added. The whole constitutes a very attractive book, both in matter and in externals, for the translations are admirable. It will perhaps be disconcerting to teachers that something of a 'crib' to the earlier work is thus made accessible to pupils, though the two books are not intended for the same class of readers. There seems to be also a certain clashing with Mr. Cyril Bailey's *Mind*

of *Rome*, recently issued by the same publishers. The editors are still ignorant of the fact that further portions of the so-called 'Laudatio Turiae' were discovered in 1808, and are accessible in *C.I.L.* VI. 31670 (=Dessau 8393: see also *P.W.* XII. 995), Dr. Warde Fowler's article, which they reprint, being thus in part antiquated.

A. SOUTER.

Variatio Sermonis hos Columella: akademisk Avhandling av GUSTAV NYSTROM. Pp. x + 116. Göteborg: Elander, 1926.

THIS treatise is written in Swedish, but will be useful even to those that are ignorant of that language. The extensive bibliography shows that the writer of this doctor's dissertation is well acquainted with most of the best works on Latin diction, though he persistently refers to Linderbauer's commentary on the *Rule* of St. Benedict as 'Lindenbauer.' He has studied Columella's language very thoroughly and collected very many interesting examples of variety of expression, such as *quem paulo ante retulimus, ut iam prius dixi, ut ante iam dixi*, and suchlike: *macerato . . . contere . . . adicito*; *M. Tullius, Cicero, M. Cicero; arbustulae, arbores; plurimi, quidam, multi, nonnulli; post, inde, postea; simul atque* (this expression, rare in silver Latin authors, occurs several times in Columella), *cum*; variations in tenses, moods, cases, number, degrees of comparison, etc. It is obvious that a study of this kind can be pursued most easily in the case of a technical author, but it is not without interest to the student of any Latin author, and the semasiologist will find much to interest him in the present investigation. There are good indexes.

A. SOUTER.

The Latinity of the Letters of Saint Ambrose: A Dissertation. By SISTER MIRIAM ANNUNCIATA ADAMS, M.A. Pp. xviii + 140. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1927.

THE works of Ambrose have on the whole not been preserved to us in so ancient copies as those of his contemporaries Augustine and Jerome. We shall therefore probably never know his latinity with the same precision as is possible in the case of these. It is nevertheless strange that this writer, with his thoroughly classical education, has attracted so little attention. The late Professor Mayor had studied at least the first volume of the Vienna edition very carefully, as appears from one of his annotated copies of Lewis and Short, but until the Catholic University of America took up the study of Ambrose's latinity, almost nothing had been published on this interesting subject. In the Patristic Studies of that University four contributions on Ambrose have now appeared.

There are two possible methods of investigation. One would be to take up some topics and illustrate them right through the works of Ambrose. The other, which the Catholic University has adopted, is to take one work or one section of the works and study it separately. The Epistles form a very considerable body of

Latin, and Sister Miriam has compared them with classical Latin idiom, as set forth in the works of Dräger, Kühner-Stegmann and Stolz-Schmalz. There is much in her volume for which we ought to be thankful, but there are a number of errors both of omission and commission. In a number of places she has failed to note that Scripture is being quoted, and treats the language of Scripture as that of Ambrose himself. There are far too many misprints and too many wrong references (for instance, letter 63 is persistently referred to as letter 64). She has not cast her net wide enough for parallels in other authors. There is no discussion of the predicative dative, though its later development is interesting, as recent articles in the *Bulletin Du Cange* show; adjectives and participles are sometimes confused (pp. 59 ff.); *concertatus*

(p. 69) is fourth declension substantive, not a participle; *dormientes* (p. 60) is nominative, not accusative, and *transitum* (p. 102) is not the participle, but the fourth declension noun; *lectum* (p. 107), from 73, I, not 74, I, is participle, not noun; *appone* has dropped out after *notam* (p. 115). What is most serious of all is that a number of interesting features are not mentioned at all, unless the index be very defective: for example, *alimonia* (41, 11; 63, 81), *appetentia* (63, 14; 63, 72), *arula* (63, 53), *coinquino* (63, 37; 63, 63), *cremum* (44, 11), *eo usque* (63, 84), *epitome* (63, 13), *executor* (41, 11), *immugio* (63, 55), *inlecebrus* (67, 5), *inguinamentum* (63, 104), *inaratus* (44, 11), *mitifico* (63, 59), *molliculus* (63, 97), *protelo* (63, 65), *temptamentum* (63, 15; 63, 74), *uerno* (63, 69).

A. SOUTER.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIRS,

In your February number there appeared a review against which I feel bound to protest, by Professor Rose, of a little book of mine on *The Week*. As a whole, the review was a mixture of good and bad, though with the bad so put in the forefront that a casual reader might easily get the impression that the book was worthless. The only phrase, however, I wish to challenge is a statement that the book had 'many mistakes in detail.' No mistakes were specified, and I wrote to ask the reviewer for fuller information. I received some twenty notes, nearly all of which were concerned with

points which Professor Rose thought I might have with advantage introduced, or which he himself would have treated differently. Apart from one doubtful matter—my use of the word 'primitive,' which he would restrict to savages and I have used in a wider sense—the 'many mistakes' come down to the following: (1) I have printed the Welsh week-day names as Dydd-sul, etc., instead of Dydd Sul; (2) in one place *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* appears instead of *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*; (3) *Real Encycl.* has been misprinted as *Real Cycl.*

I am, etc.,
F. H. COLSON.

CAMBRIDGE,
August, 1927.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on classical studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * * Excerpts or extracts from periodicals and collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Armytage (D.) Christianity in the Roman world, its rise and progress to the fall of the Western Empire. Pp. ix+281. London : G. Bell, 1927. Cloth, 5s.

Arnim (M.) Index verborum a Philone Byzantio in Mechanicae Syntaxis libris quarto quintoque adhibitorum. Pp. viii+90. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 5.60 M. (bound, 6.60 M.).

Baker (G. P.) *Sulla the Fortunate : the Great Dictator.* Being an essay on politics in the form of a historical biography. Pp. 320; portraits, maps, and diagrams. London : John Murray, 1927. Cloth, 16s. net.

Batty (C. W.) Attic Life. Scenes from the court speeches of Demosthenes, selected and edited. Pp. ix+79. London : Christopher. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Beyer (O.) Die Katakombenwelt. Grundriss, Ursprung und Idee der Kunst in der

römischen Christengemeinde. Pp. viii + 153 ; Textbilder, 29 Tafeln. Tübingen : Mohr, 1927. Paper.

Braithwaite (A. W.) C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Vespasianus, with an introduction and commentary. Pp. xx+73. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.

Buecheler (F.) Kleine Schriften. Zweiter Band. Pp. vi + 518. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 18 M. (bound, 20 M.).

Burck (E.) De Vergilii Georgicon Partibus Iussivis (Diss. Inaug.) pp. 103. Typis R. Berger Luckaensis (Th.) 1926.

Casson (S.) Essays in Aegean Archaeology. Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday. Edited by S. C. Pp. ix + 142 ; xxi plates. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 15s. net.

Classical Philology. Vol. XXII, No. 3. July 1927.

- Dalton* (O. M.) *The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours.* Translated with an introduction. Vol. I (introduction), pp. xii + 447; vol. II (text), pp. iv + 660, 1 map. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 40s. net.
- Diehl* (E.) *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.* Vol. II, fasc. 6 et 7. Pp. x, 401-516. Berlin : Weidmann, 1927. Paper, 6 m.
- Drew* (D. L.) *The Allegory of the Aeneid.* Pp. vi + 101. Oxford : Blackwell, 1927. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Gercke* (A.) und *Norden* (E.) *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft.* 1. Band, 2. Heft : Textkritik, von P. Maas ; pp. 18. 1. Band, Supplement : Vorwort, Inhaltsverzeichnis, Nachträge, Register ; pp. xvi + 36. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Kartoniert, 1.20 M., 2.40 M.
- Godley* (A. D.) *Fifty Poems.* Edited by C. L. Graves and C. R. L. Fletcher. Pp. xii + 125. London : Milford, 1927. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Henderson* (B. W.) *Five Roman Emperors. Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan.* A.D. 69-117. Pp. xiii + 357 ; 4 maps. Cambridge : University Press, 1927. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Hohl* (E.) *Scriptores Historiae Augustae.* (Bibl. Scr. Graec. et Rom. Teubn.) 2 vols. Pp. xvi + 305, 304. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 10 M. (bound, 12 M.) each.
- Hudson-Williams* (T.) *Groeg y Testament Newydd, hyfforddwr Cymraeg gan T. H.-W.* Pp. 77. Wrexham : Hughes, 1927. Cloth.
- Ilberg* (J.) *Sorani Gynaeciorum libri IV, De signis fracturarum, De fasciis, Vita Hippocratis secundum Soranum.* (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum IV.) Pp. xxii + 282, xviii plates. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 22 M. (bound, 24 M.).
- Kern* (O.) *Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit.* Pp. ix + 79. Berlin : Weidmann, 1927. Paper, 3.60 M.
- Lang* (R. S.) *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon Liber XII.* Edited with an introduction and commentary. Pp. xxviii + 114. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Laqueur* (R.) *Epigraphische Untersuchungen.* Pp. v + 211. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 10 M. (bound, 12 M.).
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The Classical Review

DECEMBER, 1927

NOTES AND NEWS

A LETTER from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, dated October 16, 1927, reports:

'Our Greek play (*The Clouds*) went very well. It was interesting to see how thoroughly the modern business man appreciated the arguments of the *Άδικος Λόγος* and how the students entered into the satire on the New Education. Among the players it was very instructive to notice how the initial prejudice against a Greek play as being something essentially obscure gradually yielded to enthusiasm under the genial human smile of Aristophanes. We managed to draw some 1,500 people; the *Troades* a few years ago had about the same number; and these facts are surely fraught with comfort for those who complain that the Humanities have lost their appeal.'

The latest news about the proposed excavation of the Agora at Athens shows that the financial support necessary for the success of the undertaking is now assured. Besides \$500,000 promised by the General Education

Board endowed by Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, senior, an anonymous donor has assumed responsibility for the whole cost, which is estimated at \$2,500,000. The American School of Archaeology at Athens has obtained from the Greek Government a concession to excavate a large area lying east of the Theseum and south of the Areopagus. It is hoped eventually to lay bare what was the centre of the political and commercial life of the ancient city, including the various colonnades mentioned by Pausanias and the Tholos, or Round House. The site is covered by modern buildings, which will have to be expropriated. A beginning is to be made in the area at present traversed by the picturesque Shoe Lane, familiar to visitors to Athens, which will have to be destroyed. The work of excavation will be exceedingly costly owing to the large accumulation of soil. It remains to be seen whether any works of art of importance will be discovered, but it may be regarded as certain that the general outlines of the topography will be accurately ascertained.

DIRECTA METHODVS.

Vsque adhuc, O magistri, duo fere modos Latine docendi perpessi sumus. Vsitato modo conabamur cogere pueros discere ex grammatices libris regulas complures exhibentibus, quarum maior pars exceptions habet, duplicationes, triplications: neque id finis; supererant Latine reddenda spinosissima, ipsique insuper textus antiqui labore Sisyphio perlegendi, Anglice reddendi, memoriter declamandi. Attamen obsoletus ille modus hoc saltem frugiferi habebat, quod pueris abunde praebebat quae sacerent, idem magistris satis moderato labore constabat. Sed illa fuerunt. Inrupit in scholas, saeuitque iam atrociter, directa methodus a doctissimo doctore Rousio et aliis eiusdem

farinae praeceptoribus inculcata, discipulis illa quidem facilis sed magistris intolerabilis, ita ut nec Maronis centum linguae tanto operi possint sufficere nec mens Sesquiulixei. At, O collegae et amici multa et grauia passi, erigite animos: nolite timere directam methodum. Res est immensi operis? Labor omnia uincit. Temptando Achiui Troiam intrauerunt. At enim magistrum ridendum facit, pueris risum praebet. Magistrum ridendum facit non directa methodus sed magister ipse, qui ludimagistrum se profiteatur, functionem feminarum. Vt in matrimonio uiri iura nullius sunt momenti libero-rum salus maximi, sic in educatione salus discipulorum maximi est, dignitas

magistri susque deque habetur. In ludo litterario pueri si rident, satis discunt. Risu corpus augetur, uox et latera confirmantur, acuitur ingenium. Ergo caeu ne aspernemini directam methodum: non est ab hodiernis magistellis nunc primum reperta: abhinc plusquam trecentos annos Comenius ita docebat. Immo quemadmodum nos matres nostras audiendo uerborum Anglicorum significationes imbibimus, sic Romani quoque antiqui Latine loqui Latine loquendo discebant. Neque id sine ratione, nam illi quidem cum Latine loquentibus colloqui necesse habebant: nos hodie uiuentes Angli cum Anglis in Britannia cur Latine sermocinari discamus non liquet, nisi ut antiquorum lingua scriptos libros legamus nullis adminiculis Anglice redditum auxiliabantibus. Quem ad finem non directe tendit ea quae uocatur directa methodus. Nihilominus, quam commendant doctores tam erudit tam acuti tam strenui, eam oportet adumbremus utique tam bene quam possimus qualis sit et quomodo operetur. Directa methodus non sinit ne uerbum quidem unum nisi Latine in schola loqui. Verbum Latinum si parum intellegitur, aliis uerbis Latinis explanandum est, ignotum per ignotius. Ergo ut in priscis et cascis scholis pueri locutiones Latinas colligebant ad prosas concinnandas et uersus ornandos, similiter hodie magister cogitur Latinas locutiones colligere quibus classem regat. Tamen nolite flere, O collegae. Praesto sum ferentarius amicus auxilium in rem trepidam suppeditans. Hic uobis subicio, quamuis temerarium uideatur sine pontificali auctoritate mysteria pontificum diuulgare, congeriem munitionum ad directe docendi negotium idonearum. Hic habetis ipsissimum purum putum exemplar lectionis secundum directam methodum datae, sertum Meleagri, unde extrahatis pauca quidem sed rosas, quae phrasin, id est corpus eloquentiae, faciant, per quam pueris terrorem incutiatis inspectoribus admirationem. Haec est materies quam detis eis. Audite pueri praesentes absentes omnes et unusquisque.

Perendie erit examinatio, in qua si quis satis bene fecerit, uiuus effugiet, sed pueri illi pigerrimi qui deliberata

mente semper opus suum neglegunt pro certo detecti reperientur. Videbimus. Videbimus. Scit quid sit quid magister. Ut in pilarum trium ludo et in bello sic in educatione quoque impetus a tergo est efficacissimus, ut ad eam extremitatem argumenta applies quae sit rationis maxime capax. Dicat puer adunco naso. Frater tuus si de quinque malis tibi duo dederit, quot mala habebit? 'O domine, nescis fratrem meum.' Nulla mibi ioca, aut tibi dabitur malum. Heus tu, puer alter improbe, hoc age, huc ueni. Quid est tibi nomen? 'Sextus sum Salius Subsilius.' Quid facis? 'Strepitum facio.' Quid aliud? 'Caput in pluteum insero.' Cur caput in pluteum inseris? 'Timeo ne uacuom sit.' Ecquid aliud? 'Surgo, sedeo, sedeo, surgo, ut Iacchus in cistula. Ego sum limes ultimus.' Iterum edico: si plures nugas habebo, dabo omnibus tres horas exercitationis militaris cum physicis spasmis, sine optione multae. Haec est uia ponendi id trans eos, O magistri. Quodsi si quis interroget quid sit usus classicorum, fac respondeas: Quid sit usus classicorum rogitas? Quid est usus ullius rei? Quis est usus tui? Nihil. Sed Latine discere magno est usui, nam pueris aliquid dat quod sine damno ipsis et sine molestia nobis pereram faciant. At ecce aliud portentum priore peius. Puer ille faciem ostendit Gorgone terribiliorem: labris huc illuc contortis grunnit, mugit, sibilat: digitis in os ingestis linguam, palatum, fauces explorat. O Chimaera bombinans in uacuo, quid tibi malist? Vin agere emeticam, an Sancti Viti saltatione laboras, an delirio trementi? 'Nihil istorum, O domine. Phonetica studeo.' Alio loco, sodes, in biologico laboratorio, nisi uis atramentum horrore corrumpere. Ceteri, agite, singillatim interrogationibus respondete quisque suae. Tu, puer qui stas cum sedere oporteat, dic, quaeso, quid sit reductio ad absurdum. 'Nescio, domine: nunquam sum eo reductus.' Recte dicas id quidem; nam inibi ab initio es, absurditas mera sine ulla reductione ob quantitatem sumendam. Habes nullam generalem informationem. Quin igitur expurgiscimini, labore, cerebris utimini; tenete aures

et oculos apertos et ora clausa; obseruate, experimenta facite, et ex prius factis et auditis colligit ratiocinando quae sequantur corollaria. Proinde deliberata cogitatione responde tu, puer ultime primi subselli. Quid est directa methodus? 'Placeat, domine, reductio est ad absurdum.' O mente fatue, intellectu occaecate, moribus impuden-

tissime. O mons mendaciorum, O sterquilinium stultitiae, O Auerne ignorantiae. Socialista, Communista, Bolshevik, Liberalis, abi dierecte ad praefectorum cameram cum his litteris, quae docebunt illos quae tibi facere debeant. Si haberem asinum qui nollet ire, putasne me flagellaturum? O, non, non.

E. J. BROOKS.

PINDAR, *ISTH.* II. 41-2

ἀλλ' ἐπέρα ποτὶ μὲν Φάσιν θερέας
ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι πλέων Νείλου πρὸς ἀκτάν.

IN l. 42 ἀκτάν is the reading of the MSS., and has been adopted by almost all editors since Bergk's third edition. Sandys, and editors generally previous to Bergk, read ἀκτάς, thus going as far as they thought possible with the scholium on these lines. Various other suggestions have been made to effect a compromise between the scholiasts and the MSS., but none of them involves any substantial departure from one or other of the two explanations which have been current since Heyne and Boeckh, despite the fact that they both present certain serious difficulties.

Of the two, the view in favour in more recent times is quite simple. It is that this passage is but another example of Pindar's familiar use of geographical metaphors (such as the 'Pillars of Hercules') to express the utmost limits of human achievement. Now the scholiasts never have any difficulty in recognising this usage elsewhere; but here they give no hint of this explanation, and we note, first, that the limits here are an oddly chosen pair:¹ the correlative to the Phasis in the East is surely the Pillars of Hercules in the West, just as the correlative to the Nile in the South is the Hyperboreans in the North (*cf. Isth.* VI. 23); and secondly,

that the metaphor is here complicated in unprecedented fashion by the reference to winter and summer limits of navigation. This is a real difficulty, for it makes Pindar introduce a nearer after a farther limit—a proceeding strongly suggestive of bathos, if he is merely desirous of stressing the *extent* of Xenocrates' hospitality. It is surely right to expect some meaning in the reference to winter sailings, and only proper to give that meaning some expression.

This obligation was recognised, in some measure, by the other and earlier explanation. This is stated most fully by Dissen in Boeckh's 1819 edition. He says that in winter even the voyage to the Nile was a hazardous undertaking, and that what the metaphor here expresses is achievement in the face of difficulties. So far so good. But one is accustomed to meet with relevance and point in Pindar's metaphors. What is the relevance of this stressing of difficulties, this contrast of summer and winter, in connection with Xenocrates' hospitality? What were the difficulties in Xenocrates' way? Dissen interprets l. 40 to mean that Xenocrates never had to furl sail *for lack of wind*, and says the point is that Xenocrates kept open house all the year round and never ceased to be hospitable, even in winter, when he had fewer opportunities, because there were fewer travellers. But even supposing this interpretation of l. 40 could stand, the resultant explanation is surely very lame: if Xenocrates were hospitable in summer he would tend to be even more so to those who came his way in winter; his house was presumably not a summer hotel, closed for the winter; and if his hospitality was capable of coping with

¹ Of the two parallels cited, Herodotus IV. 45 is concerned only with the geographical boundaries of *Europe*, and Euripides, *Androm.* 650 (ἢν χρῆσθαι εἰδανεῖν τὴν δύναμιν πέρι Νείλου ροάς | πέρι τε Φάσιν) is merely a choice of *any* two distant spots; note, too, ὑπέρ, which differentiates this from *Isth.* II. 42 and recalls rather *Isth.* VI. 23 (καὶ πέρι αὐτὸν Νείλου παγᾶν) and Bacch. VIII. 41 (τοῦ κλέος πάσαν χθόνα | ἥλθεν καὶ πέρι σχατα Νείλου).

the summer rush of visitors, it is superfluous to say that it was equal to the demands made on it in winter.

Both these explanations, then, seem unsatisfactory. Dissen mentioned, only to dismiss, the explanation usually current prior to his time, and well stated by Erasmus Schmidt in his edition of 1616. According to this, Xenocrates is represented by Pindar as sailing to a cold place in summer, a warm place in winter: 'hoc est, hospitibus sese omnibus accommodasse.' This rendering does give adequate relevance to the metaphor, as well as an exemplary sense for the passage as a whole. The Greeks did envy the winter warmth of Africa, cf. Hesiod, *W.D.* 528 f. (the cheerless lot of the cuttlefish in winter, when the sun ἐπὶ κυανέων ἀνδρῶν δῆμον τε πόλιν τε | στρωφάται, βραδίον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαίνει); and the Phasis was regarded as a cold region—for a contrast between it and Egypt, in very similar terms to this, cf. Lucan II. 585:

hinc me victorem gelidas ad Phasidos
undas
Arctos habet, calida medius mihi
cognitus axis
Aegypto.

Surely this must be the contrast here intended between the Phasis and the Nile, not a contrast of distance. Moreover, the luxury of Acragas was proverbial; so that a mere tribute to the extent of Xenocrates' hospitality might well be less effective than a compliment to the taste and judgment with which he contrived that it should be ever seasonable, ever suitable.

This explanation, then, is apt: but it is doubtful whether it could ever have been derived from the reading ἀκτάν. It comes direct from the scholia, in which there are two notes on l. 42. The second is merely an alternative version, without significant alterations, of the first, which runs as follows:

Φάσις ποταμὸς τῆς Σκυθίας· ψυχρότατα δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πνεύματα ἔχει. τὸ δὲ Νεῖλον πρὸς αὐγάδας τινὲς μὲν τὰς τοῦ Νεῖλον ρύσεις,¹ τινὲς δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν

¹ Schröder notes that MS. D has ρύσεις for ρύσεις: but as B has ρύσεις, and both MSS. have

ἡ ρύσις αὐτοῦ γίνεται· διὸ καὶ θερμοτάτης καὶ ἴγμενῆς κράσεως μετέχει τὸ χωρίον. διὰ τούτων δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς δεξιότητα τοῦ Εποκράτους παρίστησιν ἀλληγορῶν· οὗτον γάρ εὐ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἡρμοστο, καθάπερ οἱ ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει πρὸς τὰ χειμερινὰ ὥθοις μενοι, τῷ δὲ χειμῶνι πρὸς τὰ θερινά.

Here Νεῖλον πρὸς αὐγάδας is shown by the article prefixed to be a quotation from the text of Pindar. There are two MSS. containing the scholia vetera here, and both read αὐγάδας; but B has ἀκτάς suprascript *eadem manu*. That αὐγάδας is the original reading is shown not only by this weight of evidence but also by the odd statement about the Nile flowing ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν—an explanation obviously directed to αὐγάδας, not ἀκτάς.² The explanation Νεῖλον ρύσεις seems nothing but a feeble interpretation of Νεῖλον αὐγάδας as a mere periphrasis for Νεῖλον. Further, no great stress is to be laid on ρύσεις, for it is a word used more than once in the scholia where there is nothing like it in Pindar's text (sch. *Olymp.* IX. 79a, *Pyth.* IV. 318b). It is a word in their vocabulary, not in his.

The scholiasts, then, definitely quote αὐγάδας, and their evidence, of course, takes us a good deal farther back than our twelfth- and fourteenth-century MSS. The difficulty, of course, is to decide on the precise application of αὐγάδας—'the rays of the Nile.' The scholiasts saw, or had handed down to them, the general sense of these lines, but they failed to find a definite meaning for αὐγάδας. Mommsen in his critical note remarks 'haud credo Sch. de locutione ὑπὸ αὐγάδας ἡλίου cogitasse, quasi Pindarus "ad soles Nili" voluisse.' I rather fancy that the earlier commentators on Pindar must have thought of this phrase, and linked it, perhaps, with another from Homer—the Διὸς αὐγάδας of *Il.* XIII. 837. They had clearly no difficulty in equating the Nile with Zeus, cf.

ρύσεις seven words later, ρύσεις is no foundation on which to build conjectures.

² Whence ἀκτάς came into B is doubtful; it may have been an alteration both in the text and in the scholium for the difficult αὐγάδας—from which indeed it does not greatly differ palaeographically; or (to reverse a suggestion of Schröder's) it may have crept into the text from a gloss, ἀκτίνας, on αὐγάδας.

on *Pyth.* IV. 56 (*Νειλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα*): sch. 97a, *τὸν Νεῖλον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς φησί*; while in another note (sch. 99) the Nile water is said to take the place of rain, and the Nile itself to be *ώσπερ ἀντίστροφόν τινα τῷ Διὶ*. Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say *Διὸς αὐγάς*, Pindar can say *Νεῖλου αὐγάς*.¹ For their identification of the Nile with Zeus they quote Parmenon, *Αἴγυπτις Ζεῦ Νεῖλε*; we may add Lucan VIII. 466, where he calls Egypt

*terra suis contenta bonis, non indiga
mercis
aut Iovis, in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo,*

Martial IX. 35. 7, *scis quotiens Phasio
madeat Iove fusca Syene, and perhaps
also Aeschylus, Supplices 70 δάπτω τὸν*

¹ For an interesting parallel to this cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I., p. 361: a coin of Hadrian, minted at Alexandria, whereon Zeus is portrayed with (amongst other attributes) the rays of Helios and the cornucopiae of the Nile.

ἀπαλὰν Νειλοθερῆ παρειάν (perhaps meaning 'sunburnt by the Nile').

For us, of course (as probably also for Pindar), the phrase admits of a simpler explanation. The identification of a river with its country, and, in particular, of the Nile with Egypt, is easy and common: even to ourselves 'the sunshine of Egypt' is an expression hardly more natural than 'the sunshine of the Nile'; and Pindar does use *αὐγάι*, without a defining genitive, for 'sunshine'—*Isth.* IV. 65 *ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγᾶν*.

Thus the literal meaning of Pindar's words is that Xenocrates sailed to a cold place in summer, to a warm place in winter; metaphorically he means that whatever the circumstances Xenocrates was never at a loss: his guests were always enviably comfortable. Read, then, *αὐγάς*, with the scholiasts, and translate 'never did the breeze make him furl sail at his hospitable table: nay, in summer voyaging he journeyed to the Phasis, in winter to the sunshine of the Nile.'

H. T. DEAS.

ON AGAMEMNON 108-120.

OF the various readings in this passage only those in 119 are important for the following interpretation. Read *έρικύμονα* or, with Verrall's interpretation, *έρικύματα*, and *φέρματι*. All these, and no others in their stead, have manuscript authority.

Although Calchas's interpretation satisfied Agamemnon but too well, both the Argive Elders and modern readers have found many riddles. If the prey of the eagles represents directly Troy, with her teeming multitude within her walls, it seems fitting that there be but one hare. Yet to this *γένναν* can hardly be forced. This has led to the pure conjecture *φέρματα*, with which the meaning of *έρικύμονα* is distorted; 120 is almost unexplainable; and *αὐτότοκον πτάκα*, of the interpretation, is only implied in the omen.

If the sacrifice of Iphigenia is represented, the question cannot be evaded, Why does Artemis urge a sacrifice that she loathes? For 138 in this view clearly declares her loathing of that sacrifice.

The greatest riddle of all was admirably expressed by Paley: 'There is, no doubt, a difficulty in clearly making out how Calchas infers the anger of the goddess against the Atridae from the destruction of a hare by the eagles, unless the Atridae had already committed some crime, of which that destruction was the symbol.' Paley finds such a crime in the narrative of Sophocles, *Electra* 566. Verrall, more suitably, suggests the Thyestean banquet as an unnatural and yet unpunished crime of the house. Wecklein, not professedly treating Paley's problem, yet states in his note on 141 (as numbered by himself) that Artemis is wroth at the Atridae who will blot out Troy, and demands the sacrifice of Iphigenia only thus to prevent the abomination of the destruction of Troy.

That Wecklein is correct, at least in the first of these statements, is confirmed in the play itself, especially 448-451, 527-537, 801-804. In the mind of Aeschylus the expedition against Troy was cruel, unnatural, displeasing to the

gods. Agamemnon's first guilt was his setting out upon it. The eagles would surely displease Artemis from the moment of beginning their pursuit. That Agamemnon was still at Argos is no objection. Even if this very omen, which should have stayed him, did in fact remove his last hesitation and speed him on, he had already entered the way of guilt. The omen is a warning to withdraw while yet he can. The anger of Artemis is to be shown at Aulis, where she will demand the sacrifice of Iphigenia as a condition of Greek success.

It is to me strange that editors do not see in this omen of Aeschylus the grand flowering of the germ Z 57-60. Agamemnon's wish gives form to the portent in the drama. Verse 122 is still within the direct influence of this passage of the *Iliad*; in this we see the twain sons of Atreus, two in temper, but Agamemnon dominating his milder brother.

Furthermore, we see now why Artemis is especially concerned. The legend ascribed to her the delay at Aulis. But what was the reason? Artemis was the goddess of childbirth. Agamemnon's

τῶν μὴ τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰτίην βλεθρον
χειρὸς θ' ἡμετέρας, μηδὲ δύ τινα γαστέρι μῆτηρ
κούρον ἔντα φέραι,—μηδὲ δύ φύγοι

is specifically and atrociously outrageous to Artemis. It was not merely an inauspicious expression of passion, but its

execution is involved in the purpose of Agamemnon from the first.

How well, then, the eagles devouring the pregnant hares symbolise Agamemnon and Menelaus in the Trojan war! The plural meaning of *λαγίναν γένναν* is no longer troublesome. The Trojan women and their unborn children were *βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων* in the full sense of *λοισθίων*, for Troy almost escaped. Every detail in the omen and in the interpretation fits perfectly, though we cannot tell how Calchas knew the exact form that the anger of Artemis would take. That is, in fact, an independent question, and *ἔξω τοῦ δράματος*.

There is for us here an instructive example of Aeschylus' relation to Homer. Aeschylus, most people have thought, is a lesser poet than Homer. Perhaps. He is undoubtedly less understood and appreciated. He is a very different poet. Rarely does he quote Homer. But repeatedly Aeschylus finds in the simple Homeric narrative a suggestion which, transformed by his reflection and imagination, is given again to us in a beautiful development, original in every sense possible to nearly all literature, art, discovery and invention. Literature cannot be understood except in its relations. Far more study of sources and relations is needed for Aeschylus.

HENRY S. DAWSON.

THE BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ALLEGORY.

WAS Theagenes of Rhegium really the first Homeric allegorist, as the historians of Greek allegorical interpretation habitually assert? It is true that, according to Porphyry on the *Theomachy* (*Iliad* XX. 67), allegory—as a mode of defending apparently blasphemous passages—dates from Theagenes, ‘who was the first to write about Homer,’ and who is referred by Tatian (*ad Graec.* 48) to the time of King Cambyses (529-522 B.C.).¹

But the practice—at any rate in an embryonic form—can, I think, be traced back to Pherecydes of Syros (born not much later than 600 B.C.). That he read some kind of new meaning into Homer would appear from Origen (c. *Celsum* VI. 42; in Diels, *F. der V.* II., pp. 203 f.), who says: ‘Celsus says that the words of Zeus to Hera (*Iliad* XV. 18) are the words of God to matter, and that they darkly hint that matter being originally in a confused state, God took

¹ Schrader (*Porphyrii Quaest. Hom.*, p. 384), followed by Gomperz (G.T. I., p. 574), conjectures that he defended Homer against strictures emanating from the school of Pythagoras or that of Xenophanes. Schrader also (*loc. cit.*)

points out rightly that the scholiast does not purport to give any samples of Theagenes' interpretations; Leaf (*ad loc.*) seems of a different opinion.

it and bound it by certain proportions and ordered it. And he says that *Pherecydes, having thus understood¹ the verses of Homer*, said that beneath this region, Earth, there is the region Tartarus, guarded by the Harpies and Thyella, whither Zeus thrusts down those of the gods who are rebellious' (with reference to *Iliad* I. 590).

Without putting too strict an interpretation on this passage, it is yet clear that we have here two offending passages of Homer receiving a new and harmless significance by being taken up into a new cosmology.² As with so many philosophers much later than Pherecydes, the process of reading doctrine into the myths goes on side by side with the process of remoulding and extending the myths for one's own purposes. Probably it is in this twofold practice that we should look for the origin of allegorical interpretation. The early philosophers who expressed their doctrines in mythical language, which is to be taken as symbolical and allegorical, may well have been the first to interpret the poetic traditions as though they were conscious allegories.

Some confirmation for this view is afforded by Greek writers on allegory. Maximus of Tyre (IV. 4, ed. Hobein) mentions Pherecydes and Heraclitus as having expressed philosophic truth by means of mythology, which proves (he thinks) that Homer and Hesiod did the

same thing. Perhaps what it does prove is that Pherecydes and Heraclitus (like Maximus) thought that this was what Homer and Hesiod had done. 'Heraclitus,' the Homeric allegorist (c. 24), justifies allegorical interpretation by a similar reference to Heraclitus and Empedocles. These philosophers certainly expressed themselves in myth and enigma;³ they gave mythology a new application, and therefore in some degree a new interpretation. But did they explicitly regard the mythical traditions as allegorical, and interpret them from that standpoint? Pherecydes apparently did. Whether Heraclitus did so or not is not quite clear;⁴ the Heracliteans in appealing to allegory may have been following their master's example (see e.g. Plato, *Theaet.* 152e). Empedocles is also a doubtful case, unless we believe the scholiast on Plato's *Gorgias* 493, where an allegorical interpretation is ascribed to him.

In any case, the probability is that allegorical interpretation did not spring suddenly from the brain of the grammarian Theagenes.⁵ More probably it grew up gradually with the gradual growth of the more conscious, more scientific use of mythical language to express religious and philosophic speculations.

J. TATE.

¹ Cf. Burnet, *E.G.P.*, p. 217: Empedocles' verse is not much harder to interpret philosophically than Heraclitus' prose.

² Compare fr. 94 (Diels) with *Iliad* XIX. 418. In fr. 32 (Diels) he evidently uses etymology (a play on supposed derivation of Zeus from ζῆν).

³ The fact that Anaxagoras (Diog. Laert. II. 11) is stated to have been 'the first to declare that the poetry of Homer is on the subject of virtue and justice,' and Metrodorus, his disciple, the first to work out the suggestion in an allegorical system, leaves us with the suspicion that the work of Theagenes cannot have been of great importance. He probably confined himself to the obvious interpretations of e.g. Apollo, Hephaestus, Poseidon, in the *Theomachy*.

NOTES ON CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS, BOOK II.

I. 2. ALIQUID NOSTRIS REBUS LUCIS ADFERRE. Tyrrell and Purser understand this as referring to 'lustre,' 'éclat'; but *lucem adferre* is used of bringing succour or relief in *imp. P.* 12. 33 (*tantumne unius hominis incredibilis ac diuina*

virtus tam breui tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit?), and there seems to be no reason for supposing that the phrase here bears a different meaning. Cicero hopes that his pamphlet, dwelling on the success achieved in 63 B.C. by the

concordia ordinum, may encourage Senate and Knights to work together again, and so 'bring some succour to our plight' (cf. §§ 7 f.). The *nos* involved in *nostris* consists of the friends of that *causa optima* to which the *concordia o.* is essential. The same persons are indicated by the first person plural of *habebimus, faciemus, possumus* of § 8.

1. 3. REFRACTARIOLO. If *refractariolo* can convey that the type of speech in question aims at breaking and thrusting back the adversary's attack, or breaking a way to get within the line of his defence, shall we not have a fit adjective? The difficulty lies in discovering whether *refractiolus* can convey this. That *refringo* can express the actions indicated the dictionary shows. But the mass of adjectives and substantives in *-arius* consists of words formed from noun-stems: *aerarius* and *aerarium*, *mercenarius*, *Mostellaria* [sc. *fabula*], *argentarius*, etc. On this line no satisfactory sense appears to be attainable: a type of speech 'dealing in *refracta*' is the best one can get: 'full of crabbedness' possibly. But *refringo* as the action of the speech would be far more appropriate. Can we find this in the word? The evidence for such a possibility is small in quantity, but to a sanguine mind might seem sufficient. It consists principally of *tectorium*, 'a cover,' in Cato, *agr.* II 2,¹ and *fractarium* in Plin. *n.h.* 33, § 71, as an instrument for breaking up road metal. There is also a word used by Cato to denote petty combats, which is given by the MSS. of Festus as *punctatoriolas*, and by the MSS. of Paulus as *punctriolas* (Jordan suggests *pugnriolas*). If the MSS. of Paulus have preserved what Cato wrote, this 'little pricker' or 'little stinger' would furnish a good parallel. May we not, then, accept *refractariolus* as diminutive of a forcible and probably plebeian word, meaning that the 'poor law-court style of speech' is 'full of rebutting and rejoining'? It is probably not necessary to point out that the diminutive termination does not weaken the force of the adjective, but affects the sense in the same way as if it were affixed to the substantive.

¹ See F. W. Hall in *Cl. Quart.* XVII. (1923), p. 102.

I. 5. QUI ROMAE TRIBUNATUM PL. PETERET; § 9, NUNC TAMEN PETIT ITERUM. That series of elections which opened each year with the election of consuls is still future when Cicero writes, for Caesar is only just about to return from his quaestorship in Spain (§ 9); and we know² that he arrived in time—though without much time to spare—for giving in his name as candidate for the consulship a *trinum nundinum* before the election. Consuls were followed by praetors, curule aediles, quaestors, in this order. The only regular elections of magistrates which stood outside this series were those of plebeian tribunes and plebeian aediles; and as Favonius did not become aedile till 53 B.C., there can be little doubt that the office for which he had stood was the tribunate, at this time regularly held—if held at all—before the aedileship, and next after the quaestorship.

But even for the tribuneship it is startling to find the election and a trial which seems to have followed the election already things of the past early in June.³ Elections of tribunes were sometimes held in July,⁴ the regular month for consular elections; and though it was perhaps possible to hold them in May, it seems certain that this would be exceptional. To our misfortune, Atticus already knows the main facts and Cicero only imparts some amusing details, so that the letter has no word of explanation.

If we suppose simply that the tribunician election was unusually early in 60 B.C., we can conjecture a possible reason: the early date may have been obtained by Metellus through friendly tribunes with a view to baffling Clodius, who was then absent in Sicily, in his endeavour to be tribune in 59 B.C. We know from *Att.* I. 19. 5 that several tribunes were opposed to the scheme of Clodius.

But in June Favonius is 'standing again'; and it seems clearly implied in § 5 that Clodius is standing for the

² Plut. *Caes.* 13.

³ See § 1. Cicero would send his answer by the slave of Atticus; and even if the slave went on to Rome, as he probably did, with the other letters of his *fasciculus*, there would not be an interval of many days.

⁴ Mommsen, *Staatsr.* I³, p. 585.

tribunate at the time when Cicero writes. It is indeed possible that a prospective candidate who, with a view to seeking election in 59 B.C. for 58, begins to canvass in the previous year (as Cicero began in 65 B.C.: *Att.* I. I. I.), may be said *petere*, 'to be standing.' This is, however, so doubtful, that Professor Reid¹ suggests reading *petet* in § 9.

A solution which accounts both for the election in or before May and for *petit iterum* is to suppose that Favonius has been defeated in a supplementary election, such as we know to have been held when a tribune for any cause dropped out before his term was finished.² The regular election is still in the future, and at this Clodius and Favonius are standing.

6. I sq. QUI ETIAM DUBITEM AN HIC ANTI CONSIDAM ET HOC TEMPUS OMNE CONSUMAM, UBI QUIDEM EGO MALLEM DUUM VIRUM QUAM ROMAE FUISSE. TU VERO SAPIENTIOR BUTHROTI DOMUM PARASTI. SED, MIHI CREDE, PROXIMA EST ILLI MUNICIPIO HAEC ANTIATIUM CIVITAS. Buthrotum was not a *municipium*, and Antium was not, properly speaking, a *civitas*. The colony or other community of Roman citizens was part of the great *civitas* of Rome, and the use of *civitas* to designate the local body politic, common enough in inscriptions of later time, is pronounced by Professor Reid³ to be 'not literary and not Ciceronian.' Cicero, then, is using words which have a technical meaning where that meaning is not appropriate, much as he calls Athenians fellow-citizens of Atticus, though Atticus was not an Athenian citizen.

The passage with regard to being connected with other communities than Rome begins with Cicero's saying that he wishes he had been one of the two chief magistrates at Antium rather than at Rome. Seeing that the consuls were a board of two, and that Cicero can speak of one of the *duouiri* of Capua as *consul* in a similar comparison with the office in Rome (*post red. in sen.* 7. 17), there seems to be no difficulty in his

speaking here as though Rome had *duouiri* as her chief regular magistrates.

But why does he call Buthrotum a *municipium*? Very probably he is taking up something that Atticus has said, but I think the explanation must be approximately as follows. Atticus belonged to one of the genuine old Roman families (*Nep. Att.* I), and had no political home but Rome, whereas Cicero, according to the contemptuous patrician, was 'a lodger with the franchise' there (*inquitinus ciuius urbis Romae*, *Sall. C.* 31. 7)—i.e., his *domus*⁴ was at Arpinum. Those Roman citizens who came from *municipia*—and they were *maxima pars ciuium* (*C. Sull.* 7. 23)—had each two *patriae* (*C. legg.* 2. 2. 5), whereas Atticus had but one. Now, however, he has got himself a domicile at Buthrotum, and has thus acquired what may be likened to a *municipium*. Perhaps Atticus had compared Buthrotum to a *municipium*, whether in relation to his quasi-citizenship of Athens or in relation to his real citizenship of Rome.

If, then, Atticus has Buthrotum as his *municipium*, one may perhaps say as his Arpinum, Cicero is playing with the idea of taking Antium henceforth as his Rome, his *patriam ciuitatis*. From this point of view he naturally disregards the fact that *Antiatium ciuitas*⁵ has in reality no existence as apart from Roman citizenship.

It seems most natural to understand *municipium* and *civitas* here as denoting the quality or position of a *municeps*

⁴ *Domus* in this sense, denoting the Roman citizen's place of local citizenship, is not, so far as I know, found in Ciceronian times. In *C. Balb.* 11. 28 *domus* occurs in connexion with citizenship other than, and incompatible with, Roman citizenship. The use in connexion with Roman citizenship is found in inscriptions, some of them belonging to the first century of our era; especially in the case of legionary soldiers and centurions is the name of the town to which a man belonged, or was ascribed, frequently given, and sometimes with *domo* prefixed (see Mommsen, *Staatsr.* 3. 781). *Domus* does not occur in the *locus classicus* for the two *patriae*, *C. legg.* 2. 2. 5; but it should be noted that the second *patria* there is considered as the place of birth (the *domus* in the technical sense would not necessarily be this), and that it is a question of affection, not of political rights.

⁵ The phrase would be technically correct if used in the sense of (Roman) citizenship belonging to the people of Antium.

¹ *Hermathena*, Vol. XIII., No. 31 (1905), p. 363.

² Mommsen, *Staatsr.* 2⁸, p. 279.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 371.

and a *civis*:¹ 'your local citizenship over yonder is nearly matched by my primary citizenship here among the folk of Antium.' I9. 2. BIBULUS . . . ITA LAUDATUR QUASI UNUS HOMO NOBIS CUNCTANDO RESTITUIT REM. Lambinus prints *restituat*, and the correction seems necessary. The meaning is clearly, 'Bibulus is praised as though he were "by his delays restorer of our state,"' and Cicero must have used the mood required to express this. It is true that Cicero often seems to

¹ Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsr.* 3, pp. 231 f.

take pains so to manage the context of a quotation as to make the grammar fit in unaltered. We find e.g. Homer's *οἰωνός* in 3. 3 as subject of Cicero's *uideatur*; in 7. 4 Cicero's *cupio* supports the infinitive of Sophocles; and in 15. 3 Cicero's prose provides the verb of motion and his verse the goal. But probably no one would contest that he could on occasion modify the grammatical form of the original; in *de diu*. I. 14. 24 and *fam.* 7. 33. 1 are passages in which Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom.*) assumes that modifications have been made.

MARGARET ALFORD.

PLATO, *MENO* 99D.

IN this passage Plato attributes divine inspiration to the statesmen who govern well by a happy instinct, and not by the knowledge which is based on reason (cf. *Laws* 875c on the heaven-born governor who is above the law). It does not seem to have been pointed out that this view is much older than Plato. In the *Theogony* 75 ff. (a passage which the philosopher may have had in mind), it is said that, while the Muses do indeed inspire the bards, they have another (and perhaps more important) function—the inspiration of kings (81 ff.): whosoever among kings is loved by them has the power of sweet speech, of settling causes with right judgments, etc. The early poet, no less than Plato, regards as a supernatural gift the ability of some rulers to do and say the right thing at the right time.

J. TATE.

HORACE, *EPISTLES* I. XIX. 6.

Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.

COMPARE the attack on Homer by a certain Timaeus (mentioned and duly castigated by Polybius XII. 24, 1), who 'proved' Homer a gourmand from his fondness for describing banquets. Horace is evidently making use of a stock accusation of the Homeromastiges, which would derive its main support from *Odyssey* IX. 5 ff.—a passage which Plato attacked (*Rep.* 390ab) and not even the defenders¹ of Homer would stand over.

J. TATE.

¹ E.g. Heraclitus, *Alleg. Hom., ad fin.*, thinks Odysseus obviously insincere; cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Rempl.* 385. I find only two favourable references to the passage: Aristotle, *Pol.* 1338a; *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, p. 316.

REVIEWS

NILSSON'S MINOAN RELIGION.

- + *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, IX.). By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Pp. xxiii + 582; 4 plates and 113 figures in text. London: Humphrey Milford for C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, 1927.

THIS book destroys many old shibboleths, and it opens out new vistas in every direction. To pass judgment upon the views it contains is not easy, for they need very careful thinking over. Nilsson grapples with the fundamental problems, and the acceptance of his solutions will involve a number of consequential readjustments which are not

easy to evaluate at a moment's notice. Some of the ideas, it is true, have been adumbrated in the *History of Greek Religion*, but here we have them expounded with the evidence. Some, and many of these revolutionary in their consequences, are certainly right; about others opinions may differ. But whatever view is taken of this or that particular hypothesis, the book will be a classic, and it has placed the study of Minoan-Mycenaean contacts with Greek religion upon a new plane.

In addition to his archaeological qualifications and the painstaking care with which he has collected and organised all the material available to date,

the author of *Griechische Feste* has an unrivalled knowledge of the detailed facts of Greek cult. He adds to knowledge the true spirit of scientific enquiry. He is not afraid to offer guesses, but when he does, he labels them clearly as such. He does not strain evidence in support of his views, but if he indicates interpretations which will buttress his thesis, he is scrupulous to point out where interpretation begins and evidence ends.

The book falls roughly into three parts. The first boldly attacks the problem of the difficulty of reconciling the current archaeological reconstruction of pre-Hellenic history with the marked discrepancy between Homeric and Mycenaean religion (see C.R. XXXIX., p. 95). Nilsson's solution broadly is this. The Ionians came first into Greece in the Middle Minoan period. Like Vikings they raided Crete, hence the destruction of the M.M. iii. palace. They carried back Cretan craftsmen and Cretan culture to Mycenae, which thus became Minoan in civilisation, not through conquest by Cretan princes, but on the analogy of Rome and Greece. The Achaeans invaded and conquered the Ionians at the beginning of L.M. iii., hence the Ionian settlement of Asia Minor. Gradually as civilisation declined the culture native to the Greek element, which had been submerged in the adopted Minoan civilisation, forced its way to the top and in turn submerged the Minoan element. The advantages of this reconstruction are obvious; so are some of the difficulties. How is it that the early Greek invaders have left no recognisable artefacts with the possible exception of amber and tusk-ornamented helmets, which here provide Nilsson's strongest cards? Again, was Ionia in fact settled before Aeolis and the Dorian South? On the whole, tradition points the other way. It is impossible in a review to discuss the detailed arguments. The initiation of an interesting and fruitful line of enquiry, however, may be noticed. What differences are there between Cretan (Minoan) religious custom and that of the Mainland (Mycenaean)? Some very good and acute points are made.

The second part of the book consists

of an ordered survey of the archaeological evidence relating to religious matters. As regards illustration a sensible system has been adopted. It is assumed that the student will have access to *The Palace of Minos, A.B.S.A.*, etc., and in consequence it is possible to devote the available illustration mainly to objects hitherto unpublished or not generally familiar. A very valuable general principle is laid down and adhered to throughout the discussion, viz. that however suggestive analogy may be, the first duty is to collect the data and to attempt to deduce what they directly tell us. Further it is, of course, recognised that all analogies are not equally good. This treatment certainly puts a number of things in quite a new light. I am personally converted to the view that the Minoan snakes are the tutelary deities of the house rather than emblems or daemons of the Underworld.

The third part discusses the connexion between the religion of the Bronze Age and that of classical Greece. After a collection and examination of the possible instances of particular local continuities of cult, an analysis is made of elements in Greek religion which may be Minoan in origin. Nilsson accepts Nestor's ring as genuine, but rejects Evans' interpretation. In this rejection I think him certainly right. Very interesting and new to me is the distinction of two different elements in Dionysiac worship, the one Thracian (trieteric orgies with *omophagia*), the other Phrygian, i.e. Thracian influenced by Anatolian (annual birth and death of the god). As presented the case is good, and if it stands leisured examination, it is obviously of the first importance. I am still of opinion that the archaeological evidence suggests that hero-worship arose not from a general cult of the dead but from the cult of dead chieftains, i.e. that the worship of the dead spread socially downwards, just as in Egypt first Pharaohs, then nobles, and finally ordinary men, were offered hopes of divine immortality.

The evidence is not adequate to be certain about Nilsson's very interesting suggestion that the dead king in Crete achieved apotheosis (his plausible inter-

pretation of the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus), whereas the Mainland cults indicate, not apotheosis, but the worship of the powerful dead man in his tomb. As an addendum we have the very attractive theory that there were two fundamentally inconsistent views of the after-life in early Greece: the one, represented by the 'translation' of Menelaos

and Hesiod's Isles of the Blest, is Minoan in origin; the other, the Hades inhabited by the gibbering and strengthless dead, is characteristically Greek.

The discussion of the possibly Mycenaean origin of the great cycles of Greek legend is reserved for separate treatment, which we shall await with impatience.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

ESSAYS IN AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

+ *Essays in Aegean Archaeology.* (Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday.) Edited by S. CASSON. Pp. x + 142; 21 Plates and Frontispiece. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 15s.

THIS is the tribute offered by the Oxford Philological Society to Sir Arthur Evans on his seventy-fifth birthday, in recognition of the great services he has rendered to archaeology, with special reference to his brilliant work in Crete which has recast Aegean prehistory. With the exception of three scholars who are not British, the contributors are all graduates of Oxford, but many will doubtless regret that this homage paid to Sir Arthur should not have been made truly national and international. What might have been done in this respect is shown by the list of subscribers, though even here we note the absence of Italian scholars who have been Sir Arthur's fellow-workers in Crete. Still, all will gladly join in the congratulations given to Sir Arthur, and wish that his activity may long continue.

Festschriften, however, form as a rule an unsatisfactory type of book even when, as here, devoted principally to Aegean archaeology. They are standing problems for librarians as to the right way to catalogue them. The papers contained in them are apt to be thin, or a useful addition to knowledge receives little or no attention because it is imbedded in a miscellany. So here Dr. Hill's useful notes on Cretan coins in the Seager Collection may escape the notice of some numismatists because they are included among essays on Aegean archaeology. Of the other papers, perhaps the most valuable is that by Dr. Xanthoudides on potter's-wheel discs

found in excavations in Crete. His recognition of these objects, usually classed as round tables or pithos lids, adds much to our knowledge of the Aegean potter's craft, especially as he illustrates his remarks with a full account of the method employed by the modern potters of Thapsanos for making pithoi. It is a pity he did not make his account more complete by including a similar disc from Mycenae in the National Museum at Athens (No. 3257, Stais, *Coll. Myc.*, p. 137).

An interesting contribution is Dr. Marinatos' attempt to reconstruct from fragments found in the Vaphio tomb a dagger which seems to have been decorated with inlaid figures of swimmers. Professor Myres deals thoroughly with a group of Cypriote jugs of the Iron Age which are remarkable for their unconventional decoration of birds, men, and animals. They range over a considerable period, and he concludes that they are not the hybristic efforts of an untrained apprentice, but aspirations after a free style expressive of the designer's own observation. His notes on such eccentric vase-paintings are most suggestive. In a useful article Dr. Hall restates the evidence for his belief that the Keftiu were primarily Cretans. The new illustrations from Mrs. N. de G. Davis' facsimiles are specially valuable. Professor Peet and Dr. Cowley give short notes which may help towards solving the problem of the 'Minoan' language, and Dr. Farnell discusses Cretan influence in Greek religion, a subject which has lately been brilliantly treated by Professor Martin Nilsson.

The book is well produced by the Clarendon Press and the plates are good, but we have noted some omitted

references and several errors in the list of subscribers. Also why is the acknowledgment of Professor Droop's

services in translating two papers from Greek omitted from some copies?

A. J. B. WACE.

THE TROJAN SAGA.

Homer, Dichtung und Sage. Dritter Band: *Die Sage vom Troischen Kriege.* Von ERICH BETHE. Pp. vi+194. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927. M. 10; bound, M. 12.

THIS volume completes Dr. Bethe's *Homer*. It deals with the Saga, and its scheme depends largely on two basic propositions. One is, as Dr. Bethe believes he proved in his second volume, that the *Iliad* was put together—*zusammengearbeitet*—not earlier than 600 B.C., and that to most Homeric students is a sheer impossibility. The other is that Troy VI was not destroyed by Greeks, but by Thracians. There is no knowledge of the Troad in the earliest strata of the *Iliad*; in fact, Greeks had not access to it till 700 B.C. On that point the weight of authority will be all against Dr. Bethe, and it is noticeable that he, like von Wilamowitz in his recent work on the *Odyssey*, expressly, and conveniently, excludes from consideration the results already apparent from the examination of the Hittite records at Boghaz Köi.

This second conclusion is particularly useful in a work which expounds Dr. Bethe's peculiar view of the Saga. If Troyland was not accessible to Greeks before 700 B.C., the Trojan Saga could not have originated there. The place of its birth must have been the Greek mainland, and so we are brought to the real object of the volume—a more complete presentation of the author's well-known theory of *Sagenverschiebungen*, and that he can hardly hope to resuscitate.

The general method of investigation is as described in the review of the first volume in C.R. XXIX. 182. Anything inconvenient to the exposition is banned as *jung* or *jüngst*, or *Verbindungsstück*, or due to Athenian influence, or is a 'generally recognised' *Zusatz*. For example, in a proof that invited examination, that *Τελαμώνιος* was originally a mere adjective—*schützend* or *schirmend*, apart from serious objections that occur to one at once, it was found that fourteen passages relating to Aias and three to Teucer have to be proscribed. Or again, some people have thought that Agamemnon was King of Mycenae, but the passages that say that are all late. Some old prejudices are still favoured. Egyptian Thebes is a stumbling-block, because only in the seventh century B.C. *öffnet sich Ägypten den Griechen*. The Phaeacians are still supernatural beings. To some enquirers little is real in Homer except the *Unebenheiten*.

It was suggested in the review above referred to that the work should close with a fourth volume devoted to the language. Some hold that this is uniform throughout the epics; others that linguistic criteria can be used with confidence for their disruption. Then can they not be used to confirm a redistribution of the elements of the poems?

The volume is, like its two predecessors, rammed with erudition and acute observations, and is excellent reading, but it will probably not be found to be very satisfying.

A. SHEWAN.

DITHYRAMB, TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.

Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy. By A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 18s. net.

If this book seems to me a little like the curate's egg, 'excellent in parts,' it must be remembered that I take a different

view of the main problems of ancient drama from my friend Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, and that consequently, though my praises are pretty sure to be deserved, my censures may well be affected by my prejudices. There can

be no doubt about the care and thoroughness with which the author has collected his material, or about the great convenience of having the relevant texts so clearly set out, and reasonably annotated. The literary criticism, e.g. on Philoxenus and Epicharmus, is always good; the discussions of many particular points, such as the meaning of *ὑποκρήτης*, the language of tragedy—on which I am ashamed to say I did not know Mahlow's book—the interpretation of the archaeological material (e.g. p. 115), are thoroughly satisfying; and the references show a most enviable mastery of modern periodical literature. The suggestion (p. 102) that Thespis, the bard of Icaria, may owe his entire existence to the θέσπις δοιδός of the *κούρη Ἰκαρίου* is at least wholesome and refreshing. The book with all its faults is one from which every scholar will learn, and which no student of Greek drama will be happy without.

What is it then that I find to criticise? First, the treatment of evidence. The truth must be faced that, on the main problems of Greek antiquity, the texts are for the most part already known and the relevant archaeological material for the most part already collected. In order to advance knowledge it is necessary to cast our nets wider and to use arguments from analogy. That is why anthropology has done so much for scholarship and ancient history, and the study of mediaeval and oriental epics so much for Homer. One may think of Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, where all the texts about the mysteries are collected with magnificent erudition but remain unintelligible because in Lobeck's day no one knew the simplest facts about savage initiation ceremonies. Mr. Pickard-Cambridge turns a blind eye to all this evidence from analogy, and thus deprives himself of much help. He relies far too much on the direct statements of the ancient grammatical tradition, with its lists of inventions and *floruits*, in spite of the frequent doubt whether they are based on any real knowledge, and the fact that they constantly contradict each other. (See e.g. the statements on pp. 20, 21, and reflect that they are all inconsistent with the clear evidence of Hesiod.)

What is more serious is his attitude to the best evidence of all, that of Aristotle, Plato, and Herodotus, contemporary or nearly contemporary with tragedy itself. Herodotus tells us that the mourning ritual of Osiris was 'in almost all points' like that of Dionysus, and mentions the δείκηλα τῶν παθέων, 'the tableaux of his passion.' These passages are of cardinal importance, but Mr. Pickard-Cambridge neither quotes them nor attends to them. Nay, a psychologist would conjecture that he had some unconscious aversion to the passion of Osiris, for he speaks of it as the 'passion of Apries!' (A slip corrected in the errata.) When Aristotle explicitly says that tragedy arose from τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, that is just 'theorising'; when he says that Comedy arose from τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, and that Tragedy ἀπὸ τοῦ σατυρικοῦ μετέβαλεν, those are 'mere conjectures.' When Plato says that the subject of a Dithyramb was, 'I suppose, a birth of Dionysus,' that is set aside, strangely, as 'a joke'. When the Platonic Minos says that Tragedy was not 'invented by Phrynicus or Thespis but παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε,' that is dismissed as a paradox. For my own part I believe that all those statements are true. But in any case it is rather a bad symptom in a theory, if it cannot be set on its feet except by denying all the earliest evidence.

It seems to me that Mr. Pickard-Cambridge gets into these difficulties partly from an instinctive repugnance to the whole idea of 'origins' or development. His own theory is that Dithyramb is Dithyramb, and Tragedy Tragedy, and Satyr Play Satyr Play, and that nothing ever turned into anything else. But even more it comes from a lack of analysis. No ancient word or custom can be translated straight into English; it always needs analysis. So fine a scholar as Mr. Pickard-Cambridge knows this well enough, yet he constantly seems to forget it. He argues that if something belongs to Dionysus it cannot be connected with a tomb ritual (pp. 5, 6): if with wine, not with funerals (pp. 12, 18, 81). This is to think in English, not in Greek. In Greek, Dionysus and wine, and intoxication and satyrs, and τὰ φαλλικά

also, had a close connection with religion and particularly with marriage, death, and rebirth. In the same way he uses the word 'heroic' (p. 20) in its modern sense in the midst of a discussion about the worship of 'heroes' in the Greek sense. He is even capable of arguing that the constant presence of tombs and lamentations proves nothing in particular as to the original nature of *τραγῳδία*, because what else would you expect in a Tragedy? He is taking *τραγῳδία* as simply equivalent to the modern word 'tragedy' with all its present connotations! Nay, in one place he actually argues that *τραγικός* properly means 'tragic,' and is not found in the sense of 'goatish' until 'very late.' This is to ignore the fact that, if *τράγος* means 'goat,' *τραγικός* must mean 'goatish,' though, since a 'goat-song' had certain special characteristics, to call a poem *τραγικόν* means that it was like the song rather than like the animal. Of course, Mr. Pickard-Cambridge knows these things: but he does not always face their implications. He treats them like an undesirable acquaintance of whom one takes as little notice as possible. So, when Livy says that *ludi scenici* were introduced into Rome to avert a pestilence, and Proclus says that the Dithyramb was composed *εἰς παραιτησιν κακῶν*, he merely turns away his head and pretends not to hear.

It is through analysis of Greek words and ideas that the problem of Tragedy will, I think, eventually be solved. The

paradoxical fact which confronted Greek scholars thirty years ago, when I was writing my little history of Greek Literature, was that Tragedy with its 'noble seriousness' and the shadow of death that hangs about it, belonged to Dionysus, the God of wine and frolic. It seemed to arise, as Plutarch says, *ἀπὸ γέλωτος*. The answer to this puzzle has been slow in coming. The first great advance was Ridgeway's insistence on the grave ritual and the presence of a tomb in almost every play: the next was to recognise that Dionysus is not merely a 'plump Bacchus' but a Year-God, or Vegetation-Spirit, of the usual type, and his mourning ritual like that of Osiris; though, since, as Herodotus tells us, his name was not to be mentioned in connection with death, the *Sparagmos* is regularly performed on a surrogate; the third great advance was to use the analogy of the ubiquitous Mummers' Play, celebrating the birth, marriage, death, and rebirth of the Year-God, and to see that Comedy is the Marriage-Comos and Tragedy the Death Ritual. Frazer, Ridgeway, Dietrich, Farnell, Cornford, Miss Harrison and A. B. Cook, as well as many other scholars, have all contributed to the solution; all, I think, have here and there made suggestions that will not work. But it seems rather sad that Mr. Pickard-Cambridge has learnt so little from the work of his fellow students.

GILBERT MURRAY.

MAZON'S AESCHYLUS.

Eschyle. Tomes I. and II. Texte établi et traduit par PAUL MAZON. Paris, 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1920, 1925.

PROFESSOR MAZON has undertaken the difficult task of editing Aeschylus for the Budé series. The plan of the work is now well known in this country, and since the average English scholar is not very competent to appraise the merits of the translation, the chief interest for us is the constitution of the text. It is generally admitted that a new text of Aeschylus is overdue, and Sidgwick's Oxford text continues to be in use with us in default of a better. The Fragments

are not included, and this is a matter which might very well receive consideration when the time arrives for a new edition.

It should be said at once that the new edition deserves a cordial welcome, and although naturally we are not always in agreement with the editor, he has discharged his task in a manner which will give general satisfaction. Mazon's edition comprises two volumes, of which the first contains the *Oresteia*, and the second the remaining four plays. I have read through the greater part of Aeschylus under Mazon's guি-

dance, and the text challenges comparison with that of Wilamowitz, which had hitherto been regarded as the standard edition, and stands the test very well.

Each volume contains an account of the tradition of the text from the time of the Alexandrian grammarians to our own, and this varies considerably in respect of the two volumes, owing to the loss of the most trustworthy authorities. In particular we have to deplore the loss in the *Agamemnon* of the greater part of the Medicean MS. This part of the work has been particularly well done, and I do not know where a student will find so clear and judicious an account of the various elements which have contributed to the establishment of the text as we have it. Mazon's account of the principles which have guided him in the constitution of his apparatus is simple, and for the most part easily understood (Vol. II., p. xxvii). He points out that the methods of an editor must be determined by the quality of his material. Thus in *Supplices* and *Chœphori*, where M stands alone, he will record only those variants in which the reading of M has been corrected in the reading which he has adopted. In those plays where the MS. tradition is stronger, Mazon deliberately refrains from recording the variants. This seems to me to be a mistake, which leaves us completely in the dark on the character of the authorities on which we are bound to rely.

Each play is preceded by an Introductory Note discussing the most important elements of the plot, and it is a relief to be freed for a season from extravagant theories concerning the religious tendencies of the poet.

The *Septem*, for example, is no problem play, but stresses the development of Eteocles' character as a patriot, while the disobedience of Laius and its consequences are of primary importance. It should not be forgotten that at this time the name of Thebans was hated owing to their defection to Xerxes.

It will, perhaps, be the most useful course to occupy the remaining space with a reference to the passages where I am unable to accept Mazon's explana-

tions either wholly or in part—*Agamemnon*: 2 f. throughout my year's watch: cf. Hom. δ 526. There was no need to set a watch before the last year. But Mazon prefers the scholiast's view, now generally abandoned.—26: read σημανώ, which is constantly corrupted, and cf. e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 242.—49 f.: I cannot follow the translation here.—70 ἀπύρων ιερῶν: Mazon is wrong. He seems to have ignored the recent discussions of this phrase, Pind. *Ol.* 7. 48, Soph. fr. 417.—96: Haret's conjecture is not an improvement.—143 (l. 4 illegible in part): μ' seems good, but why κρίναι?—ἀέπττος remains obscure.—198: ἄνθος is presumably due to the printer.—280: surely ἀγγέλων is right, with ἐξικέσθαι as—to attain: cf. Pind. *Isth.* 7. 18. But Mazon prefers to adopt Stanley's ἀγγέλλων.—374: the last syllable of ἔγγόνους or whatever is the right reading should be long.—413: this passage still needs a healer.—429 f.: the metre halts badly towards the end of the period.—468: a stop is required after ἀλκά.—504 read δεκάτον with Wunder.—547: something might be said for στρατοῦ.—551: πέπρακται (sic).—673: ταῦτ' was Casaubon's unnecessary conjecture for ταῦτ'.—681: for the idiomatic use of the imperfect see my note on Eur. *Phoen.* 27. If Tricl. is our sole authority for this reading, it is a very remarkable fact in the tradition.—718: Mazon reverts to οὗτος, which, like Wilamowitz, he interprets as introducing the fable.—742: but it is her glance which wounds; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 162 ματριᾶς ἀθέων βελέων: (of Demodice); see C.R. XXIII. 255.—767: the objection to νεαρὰ φάσις τόκον is the metre, which is not a dimeter iambic, nor is 777, although Mazon sees that such is required.—899 ff.: Mazon has an ingenious defence of the two lists.—950: τούτων can hardly be right.—1052: ἑκοῦσα does not make a difficult verse any easier.—1127: μελάγκερων (*Triclinius*) seems to require further elucidation.—1207: the note is out of place, and seems to be wrong.—1252: κάρτα λίαν is an attractive correction.—1261: Auratus' πότωι should have been mentioned.—1290: ἀπερκ. τ. λ. should at least have been quoted.—1317: it is unnecessary to disturb

μαρτυρεῖτε. — 1378 : Mazon adopts *πάλαισμ' ἄρ'* after Haupt. — 1388 : restored by Hermann from Hesychius. — 1447 : Mazon substitutes *ἀνύρ* for *εὐνῆς*, which is unconvincing. — 1450 : *ἐν ήμῶν* is impossible. — 1525 : I believe that *ἀερθέν* is equivalent to Lat. *suscipio* and *tollo*. The usual Greek word was *ἀνάγειν* (Plat. *rep.* 415c), but others appear occasionally; e.g. Hdt. 9. 13. — 1595 : Mazon follows Wilamowitz in assuming a lacuna here. — 1625 f. : I am not satisfied that the proposed alterations are required.

A few remarks may be added bearing on the text of the other plays :

Cho. 154 f. : The main lines of interpretation seem to be settled, but the details are not agreed. *ἄρος* is restored for *ἄλαρος* from the scholia, and the two words are often confused. *ἀπεύχετος* is still obscure. *πιπάλλων* has lost its apostrophe.

Theb. 436 : *τίς ἀνδρα κομπάσαντα μὴ τρέσας μενεῖ*; Mazon reads *κομπάζοντα*, but his critical note is inadequate.

Most editors defend *κομπάσαντα*.

Theb. 350 : Mazon's note refrains from stating the authority for *ἀπτιβρέφεῖς*. This is of course deliberate, but it would perhaps be better here and elsewhere to ignore the variant altogether.

Cho. 676 : Mazon would have done well to follow Dindorf in accepting *πόδα*.

Cho. 704 : *πρὸς δ' εὐσεβείας* (Heimsoeth) should be preferred to *πρὸς δυσεβείας δ'*. It would hardly have escaped corruption.

Prom. 834 and 840 : The critical notes are again inadequate.

Prom. 850 : Mazon rightly rejects the ingenious *γέννημ' ἀφῶν*.

Eum. 54 : The critical note requires additional matter, and especially a reference to the reading of the scholiast.

Pers. 399 : Again no authorities are given. I am unable to agree that this is a matter of no importance, but it is impossible to argue it here.

Theb. 113 : Mazon is quite right to get rid of the hideous *γάρ*. Tucker ignores the claims of metre.

A. C. PEARSON.

EURIPIDES THE IDEALIST.

Euripides the Idealist. By R. B. APPLETON, M.A. Pp. xx + 206; portrait of bust of Euripides. London and Toronto : J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1927. 6s. net.

Few poets in any age can have had so many epithets attached to them as Euripides; to Aeschylus in the *Frogs* he is *στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδης* and *ράκιοσυρραπτάδης*, in the *Poetics* he is *τραγικώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν*, Mrs. Browning has made him known to English readers as 'Our Euripides the Human,' Dr. Verrall has dubbed him the Rationalist, and now Mr. Appleton has styled him the Idealist. In the popular sense of the word it is a title to which most genuine poets would have a claim; but the special meaning which Mr. Appleton seems to imply is that Euripides was a poet who saw as true, and wished to enshrine in his poetry, new and not generally received ideas on morality, politics, philosophy, social conditions, and religion. Mr. Appleton has made the poet, as far as possible, speak for him-

self, and by numerous quotations from his plays has illustrated the poet's opinions, taking care to show that these opinions are not merely the views of this or that character. An interesting chapter, entitled 'The Fineness of the Commonplace,' gives a good discussion of the nature of realism and idealism in poetry, but less than any other chapter gives illustrations from Euripides. Possibly the best chapter is that on the politics of Euripides, in which from a wide range over his plays his political views are made clear, and it is shown that on two important matters, his hatred of the war and his admiration of the countryman, he was in close agreement with his strongest opponent, Aristophanes. In his final chapter, on Religion, Mr. Appleton deals at length with two apparently very diverse plays, the *Bacchae* and the *Heracles*, though it may be questioned whether he is right in thinking that it is because Dionysus is not an Olympian that he receives special reverence. After all,

Dionysus wins but a Pyrrhic victory in our regard owing to the ugliness of his revenge.

Although there is much that is valuable and interesting in Mr. Appleton's book, there is a good deal to criticise. Perhaps especially it may be deplored that, in a work which seems to be intended for those who cannot read Euripides in the original Greek, so little reason is given in the translation for believing that Euripides was a great poet. Halting rhythms, faulty rhymes (such as 'marries,' 'Paris,' and 'sailor-men,' 'heaven') and pedestrian lines jar on the reader constantly. Some of the renderings are neither poetical nor literal, e.g. *Medea* 298-301, which is translated thus :

For, quite apart from the toil involved, it brings
Them hostile envy from the citizens.
Bringing new wisdom you will be held by fools
A useless man, of wisdom quite bereft.

And what are we to think of *Hipp.*
1104-7:

The comfort of heaven, when it enters the heart,
Can banish our grief away.
An Intelligent Principle I hold for my part,
And yet the faith does not stay;

or of *Andr.* 806-813:

My mistress . . . now wants to die herself, in
fear
Of her husband, lest she should be banished
In dishonour, for her deeds, or put to death
For slaying whom she ought not. With difficulty
Her guardian handmaids forestall her wish to
hang
Herself, and snatch the sword and take it from
Her hand

—in the latter of which it is hardly unfair to say that only the method of printing the lines shows that it is not prose?

There are some very disputable points in the book. Is it fair to say on page 35 that 'we can only conclude that Aristophanes was actuated more by personal spite than by a patriotic concern for the well-being of Athens' in his strictures on Euripides? Can we speak of Eu-

ripides, as on page 176, as living after the age of the Sophists? Is the criticism of Aristotle, on page 8, on the gratuitous badness of Menelaus quite appreciated? Other bad characters have had some motive which is not entirely ignoble: Aegisthus had a personal wrong to avenge, Creon is eager to re-establish order, Odysseus is working to end the siege of Troy, but the meanness of Menelaus has that element of the 'morally trivial' which has been said to be fatal to tragic effect. Again, the introduction of ἐμβόλεα by Agathon seems to have gone further than the seemingly irrelevant choruses of some of Euripides' plays, and is rather to be associated with those cases, that we find in the fourth century, where the word XOPOT in the MSS. implies the interpolation of some ode not specially written for the particular drama. Other points are to be noticed: Dicaeopolis is twice mentioned as a character in the *Frogs* (pp. 28, 36), the *Chorus* of which play (p. 28) are said to have been dressed as frogs. On page 186 the parodos of tragedy is called parabasis. On page 159 Eteocles is twice written for Eteoclus, and there are other mistakes of printing, such as *Thryaps* on page 11, Quint. XX. on page 132, and *apothegm* on page 163.

In the translations of Euripides, besides several disputable renderings there is a certain number of wrong references: e.g. on page 13 *Andr.* 290 for 240; on page 71 *Hec.* 952 for 942; on page 101 *Hel.* 115-117, which is quite wrong; and on page 186 *Heracles* 275-6 for 124-5. It may be convenient also to repeat quotations, even long ones, instead of referring to previous passages, and so we need not quarrel with quotations appearing twice, but it becomes rather wearisome when we have mention no less than seven times of Euripides as

Presenting common things with which we live
And which we use.

A. S. OWEN.

AENEAS ON SIEGECRAFT.

AINEIOT ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗΤΙΚΑ (Aeneas on Siegcraft.) A critical edition prepared by L. W. HUNTER, revised with some additions by S. A. HANDFORD. Pp. lxxxii + 266. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. 18s.

THIS edition of Aeneas, with translation, was prepared before the war by the late Mr. L. W. Hunter, who was killed on the Somme. It has now been revised, with many additions, by Mr. S. A. Handford, who has also revised the text in the light of Schoene's edition; Professor Gilbert Murray contributes an appreciative notice of the author. It is much fuller than the recent Loeb edition, good as that was, for it contains 82 pages of introduction and 138 of commentary; the translation where I have tested it seems excellent and reads fluently, and the commentary gives a mass of information, with occasional diagrams; in particular, the explanation of the shelter for sappers (XXXVII. 9) is both new and convincing. The commentary is rather self-denying over matters of illustration later than Aeneas—it seems strange to find towers and 'tortoises' treated without allusion to Demetrius' machines; but the only actual lapses I have noticed are on p. 238—the coins show that Datames did take Sinope—and on pp. 143-4, where Mithridates I. of Pontus

gets transferred to the fourth century and Lysimachus is treated very strangely. In the text of XXXI. 31, Casaubon's meaningless Διονύσιος καλός is unfortunately retained in preference to Schoene's brilliant and certain κόλος. But the principal merit of this book is philological, its treatment of Aeneas' language as a stage in the development of the κοινή; this is done at length and very thoroughly, and deserves much praise. (May I add two notes? P. ix., πολίταρχος—there are numerous mentions of politarchs in second-century Macedonian and Thessalian inscriptions; and p. 146, ἔφεδροι—Polyb. V. 34. 8 gives a good instance of ἔφεδρεύω in Aeneas' sense.) For this purpose Aeneas' date is important, and here the authors have made the mistake of treating the (temporary) cessation of the Locrian maiden-tribute in 346 as a terminus post quem non; for Wilhelm has shown that this tribute revived, and existed in the third century (*Jahresh.* XIV., 1911, pp. 163, 186). However, Aeneas' approximate date is reasonably certain, and a strong case is here made for his identification with Aeneas of Stymphalus. English readers are now well off as regards Aeneas, who is important for fourth-century conditions, even if his one famous saying, πόρρωθεν κατάδηλος βάλλουσα γυνή, is fast ceasing to be true.

W. W. TARN.

GREEK LITERARY CRITICISM.

- + 1. Aristotle 'Poetics,' Longinus 'On the Sublime,' translated by W. HAMILTON FYFE; Demetrius 'On Style,' translated by W. RHYS ROBERTS. Pp. xx + 501. London: Heinemann (Loeb Classical Library), 1927.
 - + 2. *La Poetica di Aristotele*, con introduzione, commento e appendice critica. A. ROSTAGNI. Pp. xcvi + 147. Torino : Chiantore, 1927.
 - 3. Ηερὶ Τψούς. P. S. PHOTIADES. Pp. 33 + 139. Athens : Sakellarios, 1927. Dr. 75.
 - 1. MR. FYFE, in his introduction to the *Poetics* and the *De Sublimitate*, is sometimes led away by the temptation to simplify and exaggerate. He over-
- stresses both the 'ethical twist' of the average Greek and Aristotle's immunity from it. The statement that 'according to Plato, the arts imitate νοῦς' goes too far, and should be corrected by Bosanquet's *History of Ästhetic*, c. 4. And to say that 'artists are seldom good citizens,' citing Swinburne as an example, is to ignore vital differences, in position and outlook, between ancient Greek poets and modern English ones. A bibliography and a better index are needed. Mr. Fyfe takes Vahlen's third edition as the basis of his text, but often follows Bywater. He veils with a modest anonymity the attractive suggestion

οῖς (for *όμοις*, c. 23; see *C.R.* XXIV.). Another good emendation, *ἄχθεσθαι* for *αἰσθεσθαι* in c. 16, is also presumably his.

In the translation he gives us, clearly by design, more of the crabbedness of the original than most translators; and sometimes he introduces unsuitable colloquialisms: 'knows all about epics too'; 'but it is all right'; 'will do.' Sometimes he exaggerates: c. 2 'heroic' (*σπουδαῖος*), c. 13 'paragon of virtue' (*ἀρετῆ διαφέρων*); and sometimes omits: c. 5 *μεγάλου*, c. 9 *ἢ ἀμφοῦ*, c. 6 *ἔφεξης*.

Some of the renderings can hardly stand: c. 2 *ἕτερα . . . τρόπου*, 'representing different objects in the way here described'; 3 *ὅτεν . . . φασιν*, 'and that is why some people speak of "dramas"'; 4 *αὐτὸν . . . κρίνει*, 'and to criticise it both in itself'; 6 *δὰ μέτρων . . . περαίνεσθαι*, 'some effects are produced by verse alone'; *σκευοποιοῦ*, 'stage-carpenter'; 14 *ἀναγκάζονται*, 'were obliged' (the tense is vital); 15 *ἔστιν . . . τὸ ήθος*, 'there is such a thing as a manly character'; *ἢ* after *δράματος* must mean 'either,' not 'or'; 21 *ἐὰν . . . ἐμβεβλημένη*, 'when use is made of a longer syllable than usual'; 22 *ὄνομάτων* (before *σύνθεσιν*), 'nouns' (and again before *τὰ μὲν διπλᾶ*); *ἐν τῷ διαλέκτῳ*, 'in their idiom'; 24 *ἄν το πρώτων ψεύδος, ἀλλο δὲ . . . προσθεῖναι*, 'if A be untrue and B is necessarily true or happens if A is true, the proper thing to do is to posit B' (*γ* = 'is true'); 26 *ἡ δλη τέχνη*, 'the full tragic art'; *τῷ τοῦ μέτρου μῆκει*, 'the limit of length'; *αὐτᾶς*, 'tragedies.'

There is much information in the notes, and the modern parallels are entertaining. In 6 *τῶν νεῶν* (can this mean 'our younger men?') and *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* need a note; so does *σημείων καὶ περιδεράων* in 16. The arrest of Danaus (18) would surely be part of the *λύσις*. Note on *τὰ μέρη* (18): where does A. 'analyse plot into Reversal, Discovery, Calamity and Character'? The division in 11 does not mention Character. 24 *τραγῳδιῶν . . . τιθεμένων* seems to be taken as the total contribution of the three competitors, which on F.'s computation is at least as long as the *Iliad*. (In A.'s day there was only one satyr play at each festival, and the

number and length of the plays exhibited is uncertain).

Misprints: P. 72, for 'V.'s fourth edition' read 'third.' P. 84, *ποιῆσαι*. By a mistake in binding pp. 81-96 are duplicated.

The Longinus text is based on Vahlen-Jahn (1910). The last line of Sappho in 10 needs obeli, not brackets. In 27. 3 it is surely impossible to supply an object to *ἀπολιπεῖν*, and the text seems defective. In 13. 4 F., keeping *ηθῶν*, reads *ἢ* for *ῃ* (?).

The translation abounds in felicities. To quote only a few: 1. 2 'Do what duty and your heart alike dictate'; 2. 2 'Nature is the prime cause, the great exemplar'; 2. 3 'torrent coronal of flame'; 15. 4 'run neck and neck with those celestial doings'; 44. 4 'the dungeoned air of one ever accustomed to the cudgel.' I have no space for a long extract, but the last chapter is admirable throughout.

There are a few touches of exaggeration: 14. 1 *οἷον διαπρέποντα*, 'like pillars of fire'; 15. 4 *φίλιπποι*, 'whose mistresses are steeds.' Sometimes the translation of a word is needlessly varied: 9 and 15. *μεγαλόφρον*; 43 and 44 *μικροποιόν*.

In general: 1. 2 *πάντως*, 'purely' ('without fail'); 4. 2 'Panegyric on the Persian war' conveys a wrong impression; 4. 4 *δὲ* after *οἷον* should be translated: it introduces a new point; 8. 1 *πεποιημένη λέξις*, 'poetical ornament' ('coined diction'); 9. 14 *ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυαγίου*, 'on the occasion of the shipwreck' ('on the wreck'); 10. 1 *ὁ μέν*, if right, must mean 'one writer'; ib. 'erotic mania' is a nasty rendering of *ἔρωτικαί μανίαί*; 10. 7 *ἀραιάματα*, 'open tracery'; 15. 4 *τήδε . . . τήδε*, 'now this . . . now that' (a repeated command); 16. 3 'might' or 'should' seems to be omitted after 'Athenians'; 16. 4 *ὑποφέρει* simply means 'adds'; the note on *ὑποφορὰ* is neither in point nor very clear in itself; 19. 2 *καὶ οὐδὲν ησσον κατεσπενσένα*, 'and all the more rapid' ('and yet rapid none the less'); 31. 1 *θρηπτικώτατον* and *γόνιμον* surely govern a lost genitive; 32. 4 *ὑποτίμησις*, 'disparagement' ('apology': Arrian so uses *ὑποτίμαν*); 35. 1 *καὶ ἀλλη τίς ἔστιν διαφορά*, 'the

distinction is different' ('there is a further distinction'); 38. 2 ἔπειθ', 'since' (the Isocrates MSS. read ἔπειδη δ'), μήποτ', 'doubtless' ('perhaps'); 38. 3 ἔτι, 'even' ('still'); 40. 1 ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις, 'in such periods'; 44. 3 δουλείας δικαίας, 'utter servility' ('just slavery'; cf. δικαιοτάτη below).

Notes: 4. 1 ὃν εἴπομεν seems to refer to ψυχρότητα above; 23. 4 κώδωνας ἔξηφθαι: reference needed to Aristog. I. 90; 38. 1 reference needed to Halonn. 45; 39 note on meanings of ἀρμονία would help; 39. 4 two of the dactyls will not scan, | τοῦτο τὸ | ψήφισμα and πόλ | ει περὶ | στάντα: 40. 4 Lycus survives the Antiope (von Arnim, Suppl. Eur.).

Misprints: 33. 5 insert ';' after τί δ': σ ἐπίκρουν; 20. 2 'grove' ('groove'); 35. 1 (note) xxii (xxxii).

On the whole, a fine translation, though lacking that *limae labor* for which the overworked headmaster of a great public school cannot easily find time.

Professor Rhys Roberts' Demetrius consists of a thorough revision of the text and translation from his big edition (Cambridge, 1902), with a new introduction. The work takes full account of the recent labours of Orth and other scholars. The Professor has made this field so peculiarly his own that it is superfluous to praise and rash to disagree. One may venture, however, to differ on a few points. II εἰθὺς γὰρ ὁ τὴν περίοδον λέγων ἐμφαίνει, 'For the very use of the word "period" implies.' But τὴν? Rather, 'The man who utters the period shows from the very start'; i.e., you feel from the first that the sentence will be of some length. Cf. 20 ad fin. For περίοδον λέγων cf. 15 (21 γράφεσθαι). 23 καὶ τὰλλα δὲ surely means 'the other parts of speech' (i.e., verb and adjective, of which examples follow, and substantive); 76 ἀνθισταμένων ὄρθων, 'rearing high' ('standing upright to meet the attack'); 94 in view of μὲν and δὲ, ὄνόματα seems to be the subject of ποιεῖ, the new subject (Homer or 'the word-maker') coming in at λέγει; 108 πλουσίων ἐπιδειγματι, 'on which the wealthy pride themselves' ('badges, or insignia, of wealth'); 117 οὐδὲ ἀσφαλές, 'highly

questionable' ('nichts, wo man gehen kann, ohne auszugleiten,' Orth); 122 περιέργως, 'like an exquisite,' with note 'too much of a dandy' ('like a professional,' in spite of the Plutarch passage); 149 τὸ παρὰ Τηλεμάχῳ, 'in the story of Telemachus' (but παρὰ? T. seems to be an author's name; cf. 198, τὸ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι); 165 θαῦμα, 'freak' (this would surely be τέρας. 'Object of wonder': an elaborate joke rouses the wrong emotion, admiration instead of amusement); 172 ἀντίθεσις, 'play on words' (? 'comparison' if indeed the text is sound); 184 εἰ τι θυμοειδὲς εἰλέν, 'should he see any symptom of passion' ('any element of passion which he possessed').

The excellent notes contain many admirably chosen parallels from modern literature. 204 'long, rambling sentences.' But surely D. is thinking only of long clauses, common in Thucydides, rare in later prose. 205 Is not D.'s point merely that the clause should be about the length of an iambic trimeter? In illustration he quotes a clause from Plato and two consecutive clauses from Aeschines. He is surely not thinking of the internal structure of the trimeter. The πυκνὰ ἀνάπαυλαι occur, not in the Platonic phrase quoted, but in the opening of the Republic as a whole; cf. 190, note c. That η Θουκυδίδου in 228 means Nicias' letter in VII. 11-15 seems improbable; no one could call that a σύγγραμμα, or ὄγκωδεστέρα.

2. Although the *Poetics* has been much studied in Italy of recent years, no Italian commentary has appeared since the Cinquecento. Signor Rostagni's work fills the gap for his countrymen, and provides all students of the treatise with a useful book. It is not easy at this time of day to say much that is both novel and convincing about the *Poetics*. But there is a great deal of hard thinking in this edition, and the information about lost works is full and good.

In an elaborate and well-balanced introduction Rostagni discusses the place of the *Poetics* in the Aristotelian Corpus, its relationship to Platonic theory, and its influence on later thought, wisely refusing to read too much into the work. He seems at

times to overstress the theory that A. is throughout consciously answering Plato: as when he maintains (p. xxxvii) that the slight importance attributed to the mythological element in tragedy is due to an anxiety to avoid the Platonic charge that poetry presents gods and heroes in an ignoble light.

In forming his text, R. assigns more importance than some editors to the Arabic and Ricc. 46 (retaining, for example, *τὸ* before *μὴ* in 58a 31), though he does not share Professor Margoliouth's high opinion of some of the other Renaissance MSS. He is generally suspicious of emendations (even keeping *δλον* in 52b 23 and *θατέρου* in 59a 28), but introduces a few of his own. The best of these is *<καὶ>* after *πεποιημένων* (taken as a substantive) in 55a 20. Less probable are 49a 32 *ἀλλ' ἀ* (= *ἀλλὰ καθ' ἀ*); 53a 24 *αι* *πολλαί* (perhaps read by Ricc. 46); 54b 25 *οῖα* (sc. *ἡ ἀναγνώρισις*); 60b 16-18 *το<ῦ>* *προελέσθαι* (with *τοῦ* *ᾳ* *προείλετο* and *ἀδυναμία*). Greek idiom is at times severely strained. 49b 6 *τὸ μὲν = τὸ μίθους ποιεῖν*; 50a 14 *πᾶν = πᾶν τὸ τῆς οὐσίας*; 51b 13 *οὗτω*, 'così anche, col medesimo arbitrio'; 57b 26 *ὅμοιώς*, 'per via di similitudine' (cf. 56a 21 *θαυμαστῶς*, 'mediante l' uso del *θαυμαστόν*'). The difficulty of *μὲν* in 50b 13

and *μὴ* in 55a 27 is not faced. In 49b 32 R. explains *ἐν τούτοις* as 'tutt' e tre gli elementi nominati,' though in 50a 10 he is compelled to exclude *δῆτες* from *οἰς*. 49b 34 *φανέραν*, 'sensibile o esterno'; 54b 15 *τὰ παρά*, 'gli errori commessi contro'; 55a 34 *καὶ τοὺς πεποιημένους*, 'anche quelli inventati' (but what happens to *καὶ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα?*); 56a 2 *δῆτες* is explained as corresponding to *ἀπλῆ τραγῳδία*, which is surely impossible.

Misprints: Introd. xciii 'bot' ('both'); p. 57, 62b 21 (61b 21); ib. 1308 (1368); p. 64, 60b 22 (60a 22).

3. M. Photiades writes modestly of himself and appreciatively of his predecessors. His indices and apparatus are good. But some of the older emendations which he claims to have rescued from oblivion are to be found in Vahlen (e.g. 4. 2 *<ἔτεσι>*; *ἐν*; 22. 4 *ῶν* for *όν*); while his own emendations, some of which have already appeared in *'Αθηνᾶ*, hardly ever merit serious consideration. 44. 5 *ἔφη* for *φησι* and *καλούμενοι δὲ <καὶ> νάνοι* may perhaps be right; and 42. 1 *εἰς παράκαιρον μῆκος ἀνακυκλούμενα* is interesting. The worst are very bad indeed: 44. 2 *διέλκειν τὸ πρόθυμον* (a supposed metaphor from the game *διελκυστίνδα*), and *εἰ γὰρ* for *οὐ γὰρ* in 39. 2 and 44. 9.

J. D. DENNISTON.

GEFFCKEN'S GREEK LITERATURE.

Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Von JOHANNES GEFFCKEN. Vol. I. Two vols.: Pp. xii + 328, text; vii + 317, notes. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926. M. 30.

THE first volume of Professor Geffcken's *History of Greek Literature* takes us from the beginnings down to the time of the Sophists. The whole is to be completed in three volumes, and forms part of the *Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*—a series edited by Professor Geffcken himself. The notes are printed and bound separately—an inconvenient plan in some ways, but justified by the fact that they occupy nearly as many pages as the text itself.

In the Preface the author claims the right, which no one will deny him, of expressing his own opinions. He is

well aware of the difficulties attending the writer of literary history, more especially if he seeks to define the general characteristics of the nation concerned (Chap. I.). Still he gives it as his opinion that a certain unity pervades the whole of Greek Literature, and that this unity is derived mainly from the religion and piety of the Greeks and can be observed from the earliest times until long after the introduction of Christianity. (Here he refers to his own work, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*.) The stress laid by Geffcken on this aspect of Greek character is very evident in his chapters on Homer and Herodotus. Those parts of the *Iliad* which he finds too frivolous or disrespectful to the gods seem to him likely to be un-Homeric,

while Herodotus' alternations between flippancy and piety, his method of "Cherchez la femme et n'oubliez pas le Dieu" (R. W. Macan), almost annoy him. But the aspect is important, and the interest of the book is increased rather than diminished by its being a record of the author's views and not a mere chronicle. At the same time full justice is done to the views of other writers, and Geffcken has spared no pains to make himself acquainted with these.

Homer is admittedly difficult to treat in a History of Literature, and Professor Geffcken attempts the almost impossible task of steering a middle course between the "Unitarian" position and the analysing extremists (Notes, p. 25, n. 204). His introductory remarks (pp. 17-22) are excellent and should be read by both parties. After that he becomes more controversial, but just as stimulating. Homer was a real person, but he only wrote parts of the *Iliad* and none of the *Odyssey*. He finds no binding unity in the *Iliad*—a poem sometimes warlike and sometimes pacific; Homer wrote the pacific parts. Extremely valuable, however, is the Excursus on the history of the Homeric Question (Notes, pp. 43-65)—a work of immense labour.

The Lyric poets are not treated all

together. Chapter VI. treats of (1) Music, (2) Early Choral Poetry, (3) Lesbian Poetry, while the flower of choral poetry [Pindar, Bacchylides] is reserved for a later chapter. This is a good arrangement and less confusing to a young student. The treatment of the drama calls for little comment. It is full and, as always, well supported by references. The beginnings of historical research are treated in Chapter IX., an essay chiefly in praise of Hecataeus. Later Herodotus is sharply criticised, while Thucydides, who is clearly the author's hero (*der grösste der Antike*) is fittingly eulogised. Both chapters make excellent reading, to which *C.A.H.*, Vol. V., Chap. XIV., Pt. I., would make a pleasant counter-irritant.

The volume of notes contains good bibliographical information on each author. No bibliography is ever quite satisfactory, and though these are very good, one would expect to find a larger number of non-German writings in a work which certainly ought to be of international value. This criticism would perhaps be hardly fair, were it not that the lists of books are sometimes swollen by references to minor articles and pamphlets not always of any great value.

T. A. SINCLAIR.

MACEDONIA, THRACE, AND ILLYRIA.

Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: Their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip, Son of Amyntas. By S. CASSON. Pp. xx + 358; 106 figures and 19 maps. Oxford University Press, 1926. 21s. THIS book claims to describe the relations of Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria to Greece down to the times of Philip, son of Amyntas, and was awarded the Conington prize at Oxford in 1924. The first two chapters discuss some geographical considerations and the natural resources and grouping of cities. Then follows a long account of prehistoric Macedonia, to which succeeds a history of the kings and chieftains of Macedonia and Thrace, reduced to 35 pages. Chapters V. and VI. are taken up with the Thracian Chersonese and

Art, and Part II. deals summarily with Illyria. A compilation of all available information on Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria from the earliest times to the death of Philip, treated archaeologically, geographically, and historically, could not fail to be useful to students, if the plan had been carried out thoroughly and systematically. Unfortunately, useful though this book is, there are many gaps in it; Chalcidice is inadequately described, and the whole region west of Olympus, including important districts such as Lyncestis, Eleimotis, and Orestis is entirely omitted. The history of the rise of the Macedonian kingdom and the story of the Greek colonies along the coast are also sketchily treated.

The author rightly sets great store by

'autopsy,' but we should not be misled by the magic of the word, for after all autopsy is the aim of every tourist who 'does the sights.' In one case the author's own autopsy seems to be at fault, for his plan and his description of Mount Pangaeum do not agree with one another. He mentions the monastery of *Εἰκοσιφοινίσσης*, as on the north side, whereas on his map it is on the south side, and there is similar inconsistency as to the position of the village of Nikisian. He says: 'It was precisely the spurs above these villages that I was able to examine in some detail. There are no traces of workings there,' but adds in a note, 'M. Festugière, however, tells me that he found extensive deposits of pyrites in the ravines leading down to Nikisian, and slight traces of workings there,' so apparently contradicting himself. It is thus unwise to say that the bare north side shows no signs of mining on the strength only of a close examination with glasses.

As to natural resources, the author in speaking of timber omits that from Olympus, Bermius, or Pindus, and he mentions only Thracian wine, whereas the modern vineyards of Naoussa and Siatista surely deserve attention. On page 28 he appears to confuse the ancient and the modern conditions of Salonica bay, which, as his Map II. seems to show, would have been more easily accessible in ancient times.

As regards the prehistoric period, where the principal weight of the book lies, insufficient recognition is given to the patient and valuable work of Rey. It is rash to suggest that the earliest neolithic phase of the Jablanitsa-Gradats type extended over the whole of Serbia and Macedonia on the strength of stray finds at Mariovo and then later to speak of a Serbo-Macedonian wedge cutting in between the two halves of the Moldavian culture—Thessaly and the rest. The author's own description of the neolithic pottery from Aivatli (*B.S.A.* XXIII., p. 30) and Rey's finds at Sedes do not support this. Similarly his statements about the limitation of Mycenaean influence to the coastal regions are based on insufficient evidence, for recent ex-

cavations show that it permeated the hinterland as well as the littoral. His remarks about the scarcity of prehistoric sites in the Struma valley and his rejection of Rey's settlements in the plain of Gumuljina seem also premature, for there are several sites in the Drama-Philippi region, and as this district and that of Gumuljina has not yet been fully examined, it is probable that other sites will come to light. He admits that there are many lacunae in the evidence before us, and in some cases, e.g., the first stratum at Vardino, rather understates what there is. Still, from the summaries given and from the bibliography and the list of sites students will obtain access to most of the material and be able to form their own conclusions.

There is an ingenious chapter on art which revives Brunn's north Greek school. This, though it may not convince, provides food for thought, but it is a pity that the reliefs formerly in the little museum at Tyrnavos in Thessaly are not mentioned.

Turkish is said to be transliterated on a phonetic system, but it would have been wiser to follow that of the Royal Geographical Society, since his gives both Jenidje (p. 6) and Yenikeui (p. 17), both Ardjani (p. 6) and Ardzan (Map X.), both Bunar (p. 47) and Pounar (p. 51). Razolivos (Slavonic!) is a misunderstanding of the Austrian map, which gives Radulevo as the Slavonic name of this village. In Roumanian he writes both Cotzofeni (p. xii) and Cortsofeni (p. 110). In Greek the accentuation is often at fault, e.g., Δράβησκος (p. 45), Δραβησκός (p. 339), Ἡπειροῦ (p. 338), τοποθετησεῖς (p. 335), σημειωσεῖς (p. 338), κ.τ.λ. Some of the philological derivations also do not seem happy, e.g., Σκάλα Νέας from Διόνυσος. Many of the illustrations too do not give the scale of the originals, and one at least (Fig. 66) is quite unworthy of the Oxford University Press. All such weaknesses cannot but arouse suspicion of the accuracy, thoroughness and scholarship of the book and rob it of much of its undoubted utility.

A. J. B. WACE.

CYRENAIC COINS.

A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. (Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica.) By E. S. G. ROBINSON, B.A. Pp. cclxxv + 154; 47 collotype plates. London: British Museum, 1927. £2.

THIS book is much more than it professes itself to be in its title. In addition to the Catalogue of coins of Cyrenaica in the British Museum, we have in it descriptions of all the varieties not represented in the Museum cabinets which Mr. Robinson has been able to trace, with illustrations, so that it only falls short of being a *Corpus* in that lists of all known specimens are not given. The introduction, which covers more than twice as many pages as the Catalogue proper, includes, besides the discussion of purely numismatic points, a sketch of the history of the district and sections dealing with the chief divinities who appear on the coins—Ammon, Zeus Lycaeus, Carneius, Cyrene, and Libya—and the silphium plant, which was the commonest type in the autonomous period. So there is virtually nothing lacking that can be wanted by the student, for whom it is a further advantage that the coins not in the Museum are figured on the plates alongside of the Museum coins in their proper correlation, instead of being collected on supplementary Plates according to the system followed in earlier volumes of the Catalogue, which involved awkward turnings to and fro for purposes of comparison.

The only problem for which Mr. Robinson does not appear to have furnished an adequate solution is that of the vagaries in weight of the Cyrenaic silver. As he notes, the weights were unusually irregular at all times: and the theory that Cyrene began to strike silver on the Attic standard, but abandoned this later for an Asiatic one, the two being in use concurrently for a time, does not explain why there should have been as much as twenty per cent. variation in coins presumed to be of the same standard. A survey of his tables makes it difficult to believe that the Cyrenaean moneyers were aiming at any consistent standard: and, since

many of the earliest coins are described as overstruck, the natural explanation of the irregularity in weight would seem to be that when they wanted to issue coins with their own types, they simply took any pieces that came to hand and restruck them without adjusting the weights. Where the original types are identifiable, the coins so used are Athenian tetrads, and the standard is therefore naturally Attic: the lighter pieces may have been struck on coins from other sources, or, as the 'Asiatic' standard comes into prominence in the tables later than the Attic, these lighter pieces may be the old overstruck Athenian coins restruck once more after a period of circulation during which they had lost weight. The same phenomena of irregular weights and reused coins occur in other parts of the Greek world—e.g., Crete and Lycia—and the explanation is probably the same, that their minting really amounted to no more than countermarking coins already struck. Obviously, if a state did not desire to issue a coinage for foreign trade, there was no need to trouble about exact weights: for internal circulation all that is required is the guarantee of the state that it recognises the coin for a fixed value: and Cyrenaic silver, in the autonomous period, would not be likely to go abroad in any quantity except to Crete, which was equally indifferent to standards, and Egypt, where coinage was non-existent and all metal was merely bullion. The classification of the early Cyrenaic issues would be simplified by the recognition of the fact that the weights are practically meaningless and that there is no reason for separating 'Attic' and 'Asiatic' drachmas.

After the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty, the coinage of Cyrenaica was largely dependent on that of Egypt, and followed its fluctuations, at any rate in the early part of the third century. It does not, however, appear that Cyrene, like Egypt, adopted a copper basis for its currency in the second century: in Egypt there was a reversion to old traditions, which did not exist in Cyrenaica; but this is a

point on which further evidence may be obtained as the exploration of the country proceeds.

On all other points, Mr. Robinson's

treatment of his matter is convincing, and the work as a whole ranks in the highest class.

J. G. MILNE.

ANATOLIA AND THE WEST.

Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen. Von R. REITZENSTEIN. Dritte, erweiterte und umgearbeitete Auflage. Pp. vii + 438; 2 full-page plates. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927. Paper, M. 14; cloth, M. 16.

THIS book bids fair to reproduce, on a smaller scale, the literary history of the *Golden Bough*. Beginning as a modest little lecture, published with a few notes, it quickly grew to a book of 268 pages crammed with curious learning, and now has added nearly another 200. The notes have extended to twenty excursus, some of them very long; the original text of the lecture has been less expanded, but revised, enlarged, and rewritten throughout. The modest tone remains, and the learning is more imposing than ever.

As it would take the best part of a number of the *Classical Review* and much more acquaintance with Oriental literature than I can command to discuss the new edition at length, I give no more than a sketch of the contents and a few general considerations. Reitzenstein's views are well known, and most students of the subject have by now taken up a more or less decided position for or against them. The insistence on specifically Persian influence in the formation of Hellenistic concepts, as set forth some years ago in *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, is of course prominent in this work also. One small piece of evidence might perhaps be added—viz., the manifest dependence of the 'taurobolic' inscription recently found in Rome on the Gathas (see *J.H.S.* XLV., p. 180 foll.). Of the evidence which is put forward, some appears to the reviewer inconclusive, as the author seems not sufficiently to have considered the possibility of convergence, to use a biological term not unknown in anthropology, between the religious ideas of East and West,

but prefers to assume for all cases the explanation of influence by the former on the latter, which of course has undoubtedly taken place in many instances. But the general attitude is sane and moderate, and Reitzenstein is nowhere guilty of the mistake of supposing that in finding an origin for a technical term of the religious vocabulary of such a writer as St. Paul he has explained the whole content of his doctrine. In this connection I would draw attention to the admirable statement of the limits of his method on pp. 422-3, with which goes the eloquent defence of classical philology on p. 404. The remarks on royal ritual (p. 20) might illustrate and be illustrated by Mr. Hocart's *Kingship* (Oxford, 1927).

On many subsidiary points the author seems fully to have proved his case; I would instance the defence (p. 100) of the story of Josephus, *Antiquit.* XVIII. 65 (= 3, 4), and his proof (p. 197 foll.) that the *κάτοχοι* of Serapis were persons confined (voluntarily, as ascetics) to the temple, not possessed of the god. Against this may be set some inadequacies. Thus, on p. 104, I cannot understand why he calls the Villa Item republican, seeing that its decoration was still going on in A.D. 79 till the eruption stopped the work. On p. 229, surely *Olympiaca stola* (Appuleius, *Metam.* XI. 24) is not 'Himmelsgewand,' but 'Olympic victor's robe'; the idea is at least as old as the concluding paragraph of the *Republic*.

I have commented on the book from the purely philological point of view; I would end by noting that all students of the New Testament, whether they agree with the ideas of the author or not, owe it to themselves to study carefully the long article on *γνῶσις* and *πνεῦμα* (Excursus XI.), and the sections dealing with the life and doctrines of St. Paul.

H. J. ROSE.

MAGIC AND RELIGION.

Religion und Magie: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur psychologischen Grundlegung der religiösen Prinzipienlehre. Von KARL BETH. Zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage. Pp. x + 433. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1927. Paper, M. 14; cloth, M. 16.

THOSE who are not repelled by this somewhat formidable volume, and have the determination to read through unnecessarily long arguments bristling with metaphysical, theological, and psychological technicalities, will find something that is worth consideration. Beth, who has considerably enlarged the book since its first appearance, has not altered his fundamental principles. The work is that of a believer in the reality of religious experience, one might almost say of a Christian propagandist; and there are points of similarity with the views of Father Schmidt. The author rejects the view of Frazer, that religion is of later development than magic, and criticises adversely the preanimism of Marett and others, while admitting an element of truth in their views. His analysis is subtle, and not a few good points are made in this section of his work. His own view is apt to lose itself in a kind of mysticism; but it may be simply stated as follows. Primitive man, feeling his own individuality far less than we do, vaguely felt himself one with the universe (*das symbiotisch-sympathetische Lebensgefühl*). But, at the same time, he was conscious that he and the universe were not one, and that it was something immensely

powerful, and dreadful because strange. Hence the two contradictory tendencies (developing, in Christianity, into the doctrine of sin and grace) to reverence and fear the unknown, supernatural, or supersensuous, and confidently to seek for union with it. Magic at the same time grew up from the tendency to deny the truth of this feeling of immense inferiority in man, and to claim for oneself these supernatural powers.

Such is the general theory, most intelligibly set forth on pp. 308-9. Coming to such particulars as a classical student is most interested in, it cannot be said that Beth shows any profound knowledge of ancient religious ideas. What can be made, for instance, of the following remark: 'Kronos ist immer fest gehalten worden als der sichere Fels, an dem alle Menschlichkeiten der hehren Olympier zuschanden werden; an ihm selbst richtet sich der polytheistische Glaube immer neu auf' (p. 361). The only word which will characterise such would-be profundity is jargon. It need not therefore surprise us that he confuses the Apolline oracle at Delphi with the pre-Apolline dream-mantic which once existed there (p. 27); nor that he omits to quote Tacitus' account of the origin of the cult of Serapis (p. 28), contenting himself with a reference to Plutarch; nor that he finds traces of the primitive in Orphic dogmas as reported by Malala (p. 365). Other comments which might be made on details of his work would be more in place in an anthropological journal.

H. J. ROSE.

WHAT IS RHYTHM?

What is Rhythm? An Essay. By E. A. SONNENSCHEIN, M.A., D.Litt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 10s. 6d. net.

It is impossible in a short notice to do justice to the merits of this compact and pregnant little treatise; and it is equally impossible, without arguing at length, to do justice to the objections which, in some minds, it is bound to provoke. Professor Sonnenschein, like all prosodists, attacks his rivals. No one need complain of this. Very often

it is only by a judicious offensive that he can delineate exactly his own strategic position. At any rate, he never attacks wantonly, but simply to make himself clear. And he does not accuse his opponents of moral obliquity—a moderation which may be commended to several other prosodists. At the same time his sorties sometimes expose his position to a counter-attack; and sometimes his bulletins of victory read a little oddly to his enemies, who are

perhaps scarcely conscious of having been assaulted at all. When, for example, he announces his triumph over what he calls 'the pseudo-foot system' in the matter of trisyllabic feet ('the pseudo-foot is a group constituted by an accented syllable and one or more unaccented syllables'), much of what he says accounts either for a purely imaginary position, or for one held by a few eccentric stragglers. But it seems reasonable to suppose that his intense preoccupation with the subtleties of elaboration, which his own system requires to make it work, has rather blinded him to the ease with which a vastly simpler system will work.

The book, however, has very conspicuous merits. In the first place, it works out thoroughly and consistently a single great principle of rhythm in order to construct a uniform theory capable of explaining not only rhythm in general, but every particular variety of rhythm. This is done with such ingenuity and with such determined refusal to abate one jot of what the main principle demands, that no one who reads the book can differ from it without finding himself compelled to formulate precisely how and why he differs from it. For this reason the book may be earnestly commended as a tonic to maintainers of 'the pseudo-foot system.' In the case of many of them a tonic is certainly indicated. The 'measurists' who share Professor Sonnenschein's hostility (though he seems to have a certain kindness for them) are probably beyond the aid of tonics.

In the second place, the actual scensions which exhibit the working of the author's theory show as a rule genuine aesthetic sensibility. The theory exists for the sake of the verse, which is not always the case in treatises on prosody. The scensions are often arrived at by clumsy and roundabout methods, not always quite intelligible; for the main principle, in order to suit all cases, has to attach to itself a complexity of refinements, modifications, and additions almost as troublesome as the Ptolemaic epicycles. The results it attains to are on the whole true to artistic fact, and this may be thought its sufficient justification.

But the Ptolemaic theory justified itself—until a theory arose which did not need epicycles.

Thirdly, there is a spirit of common sense governing the whole exposition. Some of the refining and modifying conceptions introduced certainly seem to be what scientists call *ad hoc*: they are brought in to make the theory work in the domain of fact, and would not otherwise be appealed to. Some of the terms, too, are uncomfortably abstract. 'Rise' and 'fall,' for example, are so emptied of concrete meaning that, though in a general statement they may have useful indications, in particular applications they are difficult to follow. Postgate's adoption of them is perhaps hardly in their favour, since it seems due to his employment of these terms in Professor Sonnenschein's not very definable sense that the excellent precision of *Prosodia Latina* declined into inconclusive ambiguity. But on the whole common sense prevails. Professor Sonnenschein, for instance, puts great reliance on phonetic machines, but he refuses to allow the machines to dominate the situation. This no doubt was prudent, since, while his machines were producing the evidence his system requires, other machines (as is well known) were producing evidence directly opposed to it—the evidence, namely, required by his enemy, 'the pseudo-foot system.' Machine-made prosody, in fact, is one of the most engaging innocencies of the century. But Professor Sonnenschein never forgets that prosody is an affair not of machines, but of minds.

He had but to carry this a little further—to recognise more completely the purely psychological condition of rhythm—in order to arrive at a theory of metre (prose rhythm he hardly touches; and it does not seem possible in his system) which would be just as uniform and consistent as his own, and much simpler, much more elastic, and in some cases more truly explanatory. But though never forgetting the psychology of the business, he prefers to base his uniformity on that kind of concrete fact which the machines he favours can deal with. All rhythm for him consists of 'proportionate dura-

tions.' His treatment of this generalisation is, of course, not difficult in the classic metres of Greek and Latin verse, though his insistence on it makes him pass over in a very disappointing way the immensely important questions of Greek and Latin accent and their functions (so remarkably different) in classic metrical rhythms. To compensate for this, we have a most stimulating discussion of Plautine and Terentian rhythms.

But the crux of a professedly uniform system comes when it is applied to modern rhythms. No one would think of treating classic rhythms as a species of modern rhythms; but it does not seem on the face of it absurd—and it has not seemed to Professor Sonnenschein absurd—to make modern rhythms a species of classic rhythms. This is to ignore, or at any rate to minimise, a process of development in the rhythmic sense which does not seem to have been confined to Europe. A truly psychological theory of rhythm would find uniformity in the similarity of satisfaction provided by quantitative and accentual rhythms. But Professor Sonnenschein insists on quantitative satisfaction everywhere. Rhythm is always an affair of 'proportionate durations.' Everything else can be taken away; but if this is taken away, you take away rhythm itself.

The argument is specious, but it is due to generalisation in the wrong direction. Professor Sonnenschein is bound to admit that without accentual demarcation some rhythms could not exist. These rhythms, then, for all his pleading, cannot be generalised under 'quantity.' On the other hand, many of his 'proportionate durations,' in spite of 'protraction' and other refinements, are imperceptible, and that, whatever his machines may say, is by his own showing the crucial thing. The fact is that 'time' in modern verse does not mean 'proportionate duration' marked out by accents; it simply means order or dis-

position of accents in the sequence of accented and unaccented syllables, and into the perception of this order duration (still less 'proportionate duration') scarcely enters. And, whatever the machines may say, perception is the only thing that matters.

But there is such a thing as quantitative verse in English. Here prosody (in the strict sense of the word) comes in, and Professor Sonnenschein's phonetic science should have been useful. Actually, it seems curiously misleading. This is a large (and perhaps a somewhat vague) subject; but the result of reading Professor Sonnenschein's ideas of quantity in English is a desire to vindicate the old notion of 'length by position.' So far, at any rate, as English is concerned, there seems great need of distinguishing the strict phonetic length of syllables from prosodic quantity. For example, in discussing Dr. Bridges' hexameters (after approving of Kingsley's rigmarole), Professor Sonnenschein seems to regard quantity syllable by syllable, whereas what Dr. Bridges attends to is the collocation of syllables in a rhythmical element (*i.e.* a foot). The measurement of time (or perhaps more truly of effort) must therefore be not of individual syllables (which is all Dr. Sonnenschein notices), but of spacing from one vowel to another, which is a thing quite different from phonetic syllables.

But, indeed, there is very little in metrical theory which this volume does not provoke and challenge. That is its most admirable quality—that, and its evident feeling for the art of verse. Prosody has no function as regards the composition of verse, but as regards the right reception of verse it has an invaluable function. Whatever one may say against this system of prosody (and against other systems others would have equally cogent things to say), it certainly makes the appreciation of verse alive. A prosodist could ask for nothing better than that.

LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.

ROME AT WORK.

+ *Ancient Rome at Work: An Economic History of Rome from the Origins to the Empire.* (The History of Civilization.) By PAUL LOUIS. Translated by E. B. F. WAREING, B.Com. Pp. xiv + 347, four plates and six maps. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., Ltd., 1927. 16s.

THIS book I find it difficult to praise. It does not compare favourably with Tenney Frank's *Economic History*, nor with its companion volume on *Greece at Work*, by Glotz (C.R. XL. p. 194). As regards plan, it contains a good deal of irrelevant political history, but omits the adequate treatment of the influence of economics upon foreign policy. The French version may have been written before Rostovtzeff's book appeared: at any rate, there is no real discussion of such topics as the scale of industrial organisation under the Empire, the decentralisation of manufacture, and the development of the mass-production of shoddy, or the changes in the relative economic position of Italy and the provinces. Though slavery rightly plays a prominent part in the book, there is no mention of the use of *peculium* as the Roman equivalent of the modern limited liability company. As regards the author's judgment, I am prejudiced by his handling of the earlier period—e.g., by his belief that the first *collegia* were really instituted by King Numa. They date probably from the Second Punic War (see Kornemann in *P.W.* IV. pp. 391-3).

It is not always easy to check statements of fact in a work in which no references are given. Louis states that Augustus inherited nearly £40,000,000 in twenty years. Presumably this bears some relation to Suetonius, *Augustus*, 101 'quamuis uiginti proximis annis quaterdecies millies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset.'

I find it difficult to believe that there were ten slaves to every citizen in Attica in the fifth century B.C. This would mean a figure between 400,000 and 500,000, which vastly exceeds the familiar estimates. But more serious than trifles is the fact that there is no positive evidence in the book that its author has that mastery of epigraphy and papyrology which are indispensable to the economic historian of the Empire. As far as the bibliography goes, both inscriptions and papyri might not exist, and coins are represented solely by Babelon's *Traité*. I should certainly require evidence before accepting the remarks about strikes on p. 261.

The translator has taken too little pains to translate the French into the English idiom. The use of 'colonists' for *coloni* is open to objection, and whoever is responsible for the forms *comitiae tributae* and *comitiae centuriatae* is not to be congratulated. The maps are disfigured by very feeble lettering: the scholars whose names are misspelled in it may be left to deal with the bibliography.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

A Study of the Ethical Principles and Practices of Homeric Warfare. By OSCAR R. SANDSTROM. Pp. 80. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1924.

A MAIDEN effort of moral enthusiasm. Simply and freshly written, this little book makes no claim to be a complete study of Homeric ethics, but outlines and illustrates a few of the principles observed in battle—e.g. 'Spare the suppliant,' 'Respect the herald,' 'Honour the treaty.' In the interpretation of his text Mr. Sandstrom is for the most part competent; but on p. 7 (on *Od.* I. 397 f.) we learn that Odysseus acquired his house by a freebooting expedition! The moral significance of evidence adduced is also sometimes curiously misunderstood. Priam's plea to Hector, begging him not to risk death, and describing the fate that would befall himself were Hector slain, so far from going to prove

that pity was mainly confined to self (p. 24), is explicitly an appeal to the pity of another (*Il.* XXII. 59 ff.). So, too, it was scarcely an instance of 'pity' when Perseus refused to accept his grandfather's kingdom because he had caused his death (p. 23). A tendency to overstatement occasionally appears. The thought of the wretched fate that awaits herself and her son does not 'engross Andromache's lament' (p. 25; cf. *Il.* XXII. 507 ff.), and 'loyalty to country' is not 'clearly pointed out' in Poseidon's exhortation to the Greek chieftains (p. 70; *Il.* XIII. 95 ff.). Such faults apart, however, the substance of the work is sound. It is no dry-as-dust analysis, but has caught something of Homer's spirit.

R. B. ONIANS.

Gorgiae Helena. Recognovit et interpretatus est OTTO IMMISCH. (Kleine Texte.) Pp. vii + 55. Berlin und Leipzig : De Gruyter, 1927. 3 M.

THAT assonance and balanced antithesis are to be taken into account in editing *Gorgias* is admitted. But Professor Immisch goes further than his predecessors on these lines. His virtuosity at first makes the reader doubt whether the whole thing is more than a highly entertaining game. But a closer inspection shows that Immisch has made out a strong case for most of his many emendations. Good examples are: 2. ή τε τῶν ποιητῶν <πόντις ή τε τῶν> ἀκονσάρτων πόντις : 8. συμπροτάφω σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάφω <φύματι> : 13. γνώμης τάχος <καὶ φύμης λάχος>. The reconstruction of 12 is most ingenious : <ηρ ἐλένους> δύναται <ητ> ἥδην δύναται δραγαλανούσας, ωστε εἰ [βιατήριον] βίᾳ ἡράσθη. τὸ γὰρ τῇ Παιδίῳ <βιατήριον σὺν> εξεινοῦ <ενεινεῖ> νους. (He instances the presence of Παιδίῳ at the meeting of Paris and Helen, as depicted in art.) A strong case is presented for placing 13-14 before 11-12. Less convincing emendations are 15 τροπιδεῖος for τρόποις, 17 <εἰκαίας> εἰκόνας. In 21 δέ, suggested but not printed after ἴθουλήθην, is unlikely, as breaking the formal asyndeton of the peroration. The voluminous notes, written in admirable Latin, are full of interesting things. Professor Immisch's pupils must enjoy his seminar.

J. D. DENNISTON.

Demosthenes and his Influence. By CHARLES DARWIN ADAMS, Ph.D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature at Dartmouth College. Pp. 184. 1 portrait. London, Calcutta, Sydney : G. G. Harrap and Co., 1927. 5s.

THIS volume is one of the best that have yet appeared in the series entitled 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome.' The first chapter contains a very vivid and truthful account of the political history of Demosthenes' lifetime and his own part in it ; though only 45 small pages are given to the subject, nothing essential is omitted, and the concentration of the matter is achieved without detriment to the style. Chapter II. gives an excellent appreciation of the qualities of Demosthenes' oratory, and a brief but clear presentation of the main points in his technique—no easy task. There follow (1) a history of the study of Demosthenes in Classical Antiquity ; (2) a chapter on 'Demosthenes in Modern Europe,' mentioning the chief editions and translations from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, and emphasising the fact that the speeches of Demosthenes have always been felt to have a real bearing upon the political problems of the editor's or translator's own day. Those who think of classical authors as 'dead' would do well to read this chapter ; and the treatment of Demosthenes in recent times, by Drerup on the one side and Clemenceau on the other, from the standpoint of contemporary politics, confirms the feeling which any intelligent reader of the public speeches must to some extent share—that the principles for which he stood are of vital interest still, and that the powerfulness of the expression which

he gave to them gives his work an imperishable value. The last chapter discusses his influence on English and American oratory ; on Pitt, Grattan, and Brougham this influence was evidently real and strong ; on American oratory it seems to have been very slight, and the second half of the chapter is in consequence rather thin. But that is not Dr. Adams's fault ; and it may be said with confidence that his task could hardly have been better performed. Students of Demosthenes will find in this little book not only a very just appreciation of the orator's strength and weakness, but also a good deal that lies off the rather narrow lines along which academic studies tend to move.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

Opuscula Philologica. Herausgegeben vom Kath. Akad. Philologenverein in Wien im Sommersemester, 1927. Pp. 45. Linz : Akad. Pressvereinsdruckerei, 1927.

THE greater part of this publication (pp. 10-42) is given to a sober and thoughtful essay by L. Wohlgemuth on die *Lehre des historischen Socrates*. The author sets himself to show, following in the steps of von Arnim, that proper comparison of the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon with the earlier dialogues of Plato definitely establishes the result that Socrates had a positive ethical doctrine embracing the conception of the 'kingly art' which ensures 'happiness,' the identification of virtue with knowledge of absolute goods, and the 'paradox' that he who knows the good will always act on his knowledge. It is to be hoped that all this is common ground to students of Greek philosophy in our own country. In Germany, unfortunately, as the writings of authors like Howald prove, it is not superfluous to insist even on these elementary points, and Mr. Wohlgemuth is doing a real service to sober 'research' by his masterly argument. The one serious criticism which occurs to me is that I do not feel sure that he and von Arnim are not overdoing their point about the complete 'independence' of Xenophon as an authority. I readily grant that the numerous coincidences between Plato and the *Memorabilia* are evidence that Xenophon found the Platonic representation of Socrates accordant with his own recollections, and this, perhaps, is enough to establish Mr. Wohlgemuth's point. I should doubt whether he is always safe in inferring that the testimonies of the two writers are completely independent from the fact that they introduce the same thought or illustration in characteristically different contexts. I would also suggest that in his enumeration of the literary sources available for the reconstruction of a 'historical Socrates' he has omitted one of the most important of all, the fairly long passages still surviving from the *Alcibiades* of Aeschines of Sphettus. And I simply do not understand how he and von Arnim can believe that a masterpiece of dramatic art like the *Protagoras* can be the first work of the youthful Plato. On the other side, I would specially commend the writer's insistence on the point that it is a monstrous paradox to hold that we

can discover nothing about the thought of the man who more than any other stamped his personality on the whole subsequent development of Greek philosophy. Admirable also is the skill with which Mr. Wohlgemuth has commented on the Socratic 'irony' of the most curious of all Xenophon's stories, his account of the conversation of Socrates with the *hetaera* Theodote. That, as he says, can be no invention of a man like Xenophon.

A. E. TAYLOR.

† K. SVOBODA: *L'Esthétique d'Aristote (Aristotelova Estetika)*. Pp. 212. Brno, 1927. ('Les Belles Lettres,' Paris.) 20 fr.

WHAT exactly is the problem to which 'Aesthetics' tries to provide an answer? Is it the question what beauty is, or the very different question what are the characteristic experiences of the creator, or the contemplator, of beautiful things, or of both? Or has 'Aesthetics' to find an answer to both these questions? Like most writers on the subject, Mr. Svoboda is not fully alive to the difference between the two problems, the metaphysical and the psychological; his monograph tells us very fully and carefully everything that Aristotle has said anywhere on either. The result is a little confusing, but provides an excellent work of reference for the student who wants to have Aristotle's deliverances about art and about beauty collected from the corpus of his works and brought together in a single volume of reasonable compass. The author has done his work very thoroughly and with a very wide knowledge, which one can only envy, of the results of the Aristotelian scholarship of two continents. The translation from Czech into French has been so smoothly done that the English reader, at any rate, is very rarely reminded that what he has before him is a version. If it is not ungrateful to comment critically on what one has read with so much pleasure, there are just two points where I feel that there may be something to be said which has been missed. It might have been as well to say explicitly that 'fine art' is a modern conception for which neither Aristotle nor any other Greek thinker had so much as a name. When a Greek called Pindar or Phidias a *rēxvrys*, what he meant to say was that neither was quite a 'gentleman'; both lived by a 'specialism' of which they made profit, exactly like a skipper or a shoemaker. Hence the philosophers' distinction between the 'useful' and the 'agreeable' or 'entertaining' *rēxva* is not even a first faulty attempt to recognise the existence of what we call 'fine' art. The confectioner's 'art' is just as much one of providing an *agreement* as the tragedian's. Also, I find it hard to believe that the 'pity and fear' of which tragedy 'purges' the mind mean any kind of self-pity or fear for self. I cannot think that the story of Oedipus only raises this 'fear' in spectators whose parents are still living. To be sure, if the tragic emotions are to be aroused, the hero must be, like ourselves, human, and his troubles must be the sort of thing which might conceivably have happened to ourselves. We should not be moved by a play about a bull who had gored his sire, for example. But I

think the interpretation favoured by Mr. Svoboda neglects the distinction between what might conceivably have happened to me and what may yet happen to me.

A. E. TAYLOR.

Bucoliques Grecs II.: Pseudo-Théocrite, Moschus, Bion, divers. PH. E. LEGRAND. (Collection Budé.) Pp. xiv + 284. Paris : Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1927. Paper.

THE general character of this edition was indicated in *C.R.* XL, p. 173. As before, the notes and prefaces are judicious, and the poems are easier to find than in Vol. I. There are three indexes—one of proper names, and two of which the utility is less apparent. The first embraces 'La Campagne et la Vie Champêtre' (e.g. ἀγρός, βάρπαχος), the second 'Beauté ou Laideur: Sensualité, Amour, Galanterie' (e.g. φάσσα, βθέλλα).

Vol. II. is considerably the harder half of the editor's task. The poets, especially Pseudo-Théocrite, are often twaddlers, and, where they are not, their infrequent scribes have often slumbered no less deep. This volume contained nearly sixty corrections in the text, which is many more than Wilamowitz introduced, and there are few which I expect to see there again. Still, the shower falls thickest on such poems as 21 and 23, where, in such a series as this, an editor's task is really desperate, and some of them are admittedly the expedients of despair.

In short, this is not, I think, an epoch-making book; but it is a welcome addition to the rather scanty modern work upon poems whose interest considerably exceeds their intrinsic merit.

A. S. F. GOW.

A. WIFSTRAND: *Studien zur griech. Anthologie*

(Lunds Univ. Årsskrift, N.F. 1, 23, 3). Pp. 86.

Lund : Gleerup (Leipzig : Harrassowitz), 1926. THIS brochure deals chiefly with three questions. It seeks (1) to prove that Meleager arranged his *Garland* according to subject and treatment, and to show how much care and ingenuity he devoted to the arrangement, partly in order to bring out by juxtaposition the quality of his own work; (2) to throw new light upon the sources from which he drew his material and upon his method of handling them; and (3) to substantiate Basson's theory that our text of *Anth. Pal.* IX. has suffered a considerable loss, and originally contained many epigrams which are known to us only from the First and Fourth Books of *Anth. Plan.* Wifstrand holds that there was more than one lacuna, the first being after *Anth. Pal.* IX. 583, and that their separation into different books was the work of Planudes himself, who had the full text of *Anth. Pal.* before him.

The author is fully acquainted with the literature of his subject, his reasoning is sober and well documented, and his conclusions seem to me, considering the nature of the case, adequately demonstrated.

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

Studien zur Sprache der Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten. Inaug.-Diss. von HERMAN LJUNGVIK. Pp. xii+106. Uppsala: Lundequist, 1926. 4 Swedish crowns.

THIS work, which appears in the philosophical, linguistic and historical section of the Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, is a work of distinction. The author has an excellent knowledge of the bibliography of the subject, though he has overlooked Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (1914-), now nearing completion, and in at least one instance, that of Preuschen's *Handwörterbuch*, has not employed the latest edition. He has examined a number of passages from such writings as *The Acts of Thomas*, in the light of our extended knowledge of the koiné, and has defended the reading of the MSS. in a convincing way. He has further studied many syntactical points with skill, and has written an important chapter on the senses of various words. In my opinion the work is indispensable to all students of New Testament Greek, and later Greek generally. There is a misprint on p. xi; on page 70 it was not necessary to mention that a passage of Clement of Alexandria does not appear in the new Liddell and Scott, seeing that the scope of that work definitely excludes patristic writings; and the writer has at the same time failed to refer to the reading adopted by Stählin in what is now the standard edition of Clement; on page 88 Milligan's view of καταλαύπάνευ (John i. 5) should have been quoted in support of Bauer.

A. SOUTER.

Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor. Inauguraldissertation von DAVID TABACHOVITZ. Pp. viii+72. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1926.

THIS dissertation is divided into three parts: (1) syntactical, (2) lexical, (3) textual. The writer was wise to begin with a really well-edited text like De Boor's edition of Theophanes. A comprehensive and reliable grammar and lexicon to late Greek are still in the distant future, but monographs like this help to prepare the way, and it is useless to build on insecure foundations such as most of the texts in the *Corp. scr. hist. Byz.* are. All students of post-Aristotelian Greek (including the New Testament) will find something to interest them here. The work is well indexed; the bibliography is also useful, but it was not well to split Mitteis and Wilcken's well-known *Grundriss und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* under three headings, and I do not understand the abbreviation used for Julius Pollux.

A. SOUTER.

Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and their Influence. By JAMES TURNER ALLEN, Ph.D., Professor of Greek, University of California. Pp. xii+198. 17 plates and 7 figures in text. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.; London: Harrap, 1927. 5s.

WITH the exception of two short chapters this work consists of a greatly condensed account of the dramatic festivals, theatres, stage pro-

perties, actors, and theatrical costumes of the Greeks and Romans. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee that the work is accurate, scholarly, and up-to-date; and he has succeeded in compressing a very large amount of information into the available space. Naturally (perhaps fortunately), he has no room for controversy, though differences of opinion are often briefly indicated; and here and there he is obliged to state dogmatically views which need some justification. But the book is generally a very safe guide for a reader who does not want to be troubled with critical discussions. Unfortunately, the 32 pages which deal with the influence of the ancient theatre and drama upon those of modern times are all too few; but the restriction of the treatment to externals is doubtless compensated by the discussion of the influence of the spirit and ideas of the great dramatists upon later writers in other volumes of the series ('Our Debt to Greece and Rome') to which the volume belongs.

A few small points may be noticed. The date (c. 475 B.C.) given for Epicharmus on p. 6 is probably too late for a 'floruit' date, if he was πολλῷ πρότερος Χιωνίδου καὶ Μέγυγρου. The statement on p. 10 that Pratinas blended dithyramb with rustic revelries in creating the satyr-drama goes far beyond any evidence that exists, and is more than disputable. The assault of Midias upon Demosthenes (p. 47) is more likely to have been in 348 B.C. than in 350 B.C. 'Harmony' is a misleading translation (p. 119) of ἴμμηλεια (despite Liddell and Scott). But these are trifling matters, and the book is certain to prove both useful and interesting to its readers.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

Die Akteinteilung in der neuen griechischen und in der römischen Komödie. Dissertation von GEORGINE BURCKHARDT. Pp. 59. Basel: Basler Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 1927.

THIS dissertation gives an accurate and judicious account of the statements in ancient authorities with regard to the division of comedies into acts, enumerates the places in the plays of Plautus and Terence in which the scene is left empty (discussing doubtful cases), and comes to the very sensible conclusions that (1) it is impossible to recognize any thorough division of Roman comedies into acts, owing to the insufficiency of the indications, and the possibility of interpreting them in more than one way, but that (2) it is possible in nearly all the plays of Plautus and Terence, the originals of which are not known to have been greatly altered by the Roman poets in the process of adaptation, to find a marked division early in the play—after the first or second scene—and another near the end, after the anagnorisis or λύσις, and that consequently (3) it is probable that in the Greek originals of these plays divisions occurred at these points, which marked the end of the first and beginning of the last 'acts.' In the extant fragments of Menander the direction Χοροῦ occurs five times, and no doubt marks what might be called act-divisions, but there is no evidence to show how often this happened in a

play, nor how far the subdivision of the play thus effected was purely external and how far it was structurally significant. The only ancient division into five acts which is extant is Donatus' division of the plays of Terence, and Donatus makes it clear that he knew of no such division by Terence himself. (The division of Plautus into acts was not made till the Renaissance.) Horace's lines on the subject may refer to tragedy only. Leo's idea that Varro divided the Roman comedies into acts is not justified by the words of Donatus on which it is based. The matter is not one of very great importance : but those who are interested in it will find in this dissertation a scholarly and careful piece of work.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

Democracy in the Ancient World. T. R. GLOVER. Pp. ix+263. Cambridge : University Press, 1927. 10s. 6d.

IT would be easy to be superior at the expense of these popular lectures, but it would be very difficult to do just what Dr. Glover has set himself to do with equal dexterity and success. The book, in effect, is less an examination of democracy than a series of essays upon politics and society, from Homer to Julius Cæsar. It would not be unfair criticism, perhaps, to say that they skim the surface, and do not contain any very original or arresting stimulus to thought, nor put anything in a new light, but if they cover familiar ground they do so with admirable vivacity. The pace is unflagging, and any scholar might envy Dr. Glover's easy familiarity with classical literature, and his power of ready and apposite quotation. Even for the reviewer he has a sandbag ready in Polybius vi. 11, 6.

The first requisites of good popular lectures these undoubtedly possess. The hearers will certainly have enjoyed them, and they will have understood them. In book form they provide a very lively general picture of the course of historical development in Greece and in Rome.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit. Nach drei in Athen gehaltenen Vorträgen. Von OTTO KERN. Pp. 79. Berlin : Weidmann, 1927.

THESE are excellent lectures, and may be recommended as a brief and handy means of becoming acquainted with an outline of the facts concerning classical mysteries, together with some ingenious, and often probably right, interpretations of the facts. The author deals first with Eleusis, next with the worship of the Kabiroi, then with the Orphic beliefs, and adds the first part of his dissertation of 1909, published at Halle and now out of print, under the title *Die Eleusinischen Dromena* (the original work was called *Eleusinische Beiträge* ; this revised edition takes account of some of the literature published since 1909).

Naturally, the lectures assume the author's own views, set forth at greater length in his other works. That on Orpheus gives us an idea of what may be expected in the forthcoming second volume of his *Religion der Griechen*.

Printing no footnotes except to the last section, Kern does not warn his readers that the interpretations Demeter = *Mutter Erde*, Triptolemos = *der Dreimalkrieger* (with a supposed allusion to hostilities between Eleusis and Athens), are anything but certain. I for one cannot accept his statement that Poseidon was anciently the husband of Earth (p. 28). If this is so, why is so very little trace of this union to be found in the mythology of Poseidon ?), nor see any reason for identifying Eurydice, wife of Orpheus, with an underworld goddess (p. 46). What of the other heroines of that name, and the numerous Kreusaï, who, like her, are named simply 'princess'? To identify Iakchos with Bakchos (p. 13) is hardly in accordance with modern opinion ; and the connexion made on p. 51 between the child Zagreus and Herakleitos' playing child, who rules the universe, is rather rash. His account of Orpheus (pp. 44 ff.) is ingenious, but, I think, no more than that.

There is a little slip on p. 47 (Aristophanes, *Ranæ*, 1032, which he cites, is not part of the parabasis) ; on pp. 70 and 71 the words *σωτῆρ* and *ἀφοδίσιος* are slightly misprinted.

H. J. ROSE.

La Basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure. By JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. (*Études romaines*, 1^{re} série.) Paris : L'Artisan du Livre, 1926. 30 frs.

THIS pleasing book is designed to establish the truth of Cumont's theory that this subterranean chapel was built by Pythagoreans. The descriptions are full and excellent, and good reason is shown for accepting the early suggestion that the building is connected with the fall of Statilius Taurus in the reign of Claudius. It seems clear that it was deliberately desecrated shortly after its erection ; but Carcopino's argument that the ventilation shafts prove that it was never concealed is unconvincing ; he has, of course, a Pythagorean reason for its underground situation.

There is a good sketch of the history of Pythagoreanism, especially interesting for the Roman period. The attempts to provide Pythagorean explanations for all details of the basilica are mostly ingenious and often convincing, but many prove nothing but its eclectic character. Some are absurd. The Pythagorean rule that a temple must be entered *καὶ τὸν δέξιὸν τὸν δέξιον* and left *καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν διατερεψόν* is not obeyed (p. 227) by a corridor which compelled worshippers to enter the basilica, which was on their left as they approached it, by two left turns, and to leave it by the same route in the opposite direction : nor does the fact that in the reliefs most jugs are held by their handles illustrate the law that libations must be poured over the handle of a cup, where no human lip ever rests, *ὅπερ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πίνηται* (p. 233). It is not permissible (p. 371) to regard Cancer, in the teeth of all the texts, as the gate for ascending souls, on the assumption, against the evidence, and against common sense, that the Pythagoreans placed Capricorn in the North and Cancer in the South. The interpretation of texts is not, indeed, Carcopino's strong point ;

he gives *Poetics* 1459 b as the authority for a cyclic epic *Illyxeia* (p. 348), though Aristotle names it as one of the tragedies based on the *Little Iliad*.

The book, however, is much better than these lapses might suggest, and the central thesis is probably sound. The best point is still Carcopino's well-known citation of Pliny *N.H.* XXII. 20, which, by connecting Sappho and Phaon with Pythagorean theory, seems to give the key to the crucial relief in the apse. Less conclusive is the fact that the number of reliefs of tombs in the basilica proper, twenty-eight, is that of Pythagoras's disciples in *Anth. Pal.* XIV. 1: for there are ten more in the atrium. There are several good illustrations and diagrams.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Fascicule I. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. xi+52, 50 full-page plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 18s. net.

THIS instalment of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* comprises the black- and red-figure Attic vases in the Ashmolean Museum. But besides fitting into its place as part of a series, it is, in fact, a new catalogue. Since Gardner's earlier catalogue, so many vases have been added to the Ashmolean Museum, and so great advances have been made in the study of Attic vases, that a new catalogue is exceedingly welcome.

The present volume has the virtues one would expect from it. It is difficult to see how the book could have been substantially improved within its limits.

The text contains a good deal of new matter concerning the interpretation of the subjects. The author must have spent not a little time and ingenuity in making the fifty plates allowed him hold so many pictures. The photographs are excellent, and the care bestowed on posing the vases has not been wasted, as will be seen by a comparison with the Louvre fascicules. Complete vases are photographed plumb upright, with the result that in the pictures they look like real vases. Nothing could be better, for instance, than the illustrations of the stamnoi on Plate 29. Some people might take exception to the poise of the amphoræ when details alone are photographed (see Plates 17 and 18). Here the curve on the vase makes a satisfactory photograph impossible: either face or body must be distorted. The author elects to sacrifice face to body. Would a compromise have been better? It is a pity that the paper on which the plates are printed has a slightly yellowish tinge: the paper used for the British Museum fascicule is more pleasing.

The price of this beautiful publication is very low.

E. M. W. TILLYARD.

Morphologie Historique du Latin. By A. ERNOUT. Second Edition. Pp. xiv+404. Paris: Klincksieck, 1927. 24 fr.

THIS little book forms part of the 'Nouvelle Collection à l'Usage des Classes'; but the author addresses himself to mature students rather than to schoolboys. His avowed aim is

to bring the facts of declension and conjugation under a rational classification, and his book is both concise and readable. In spite of the limitations of space, he contrives to find room for the picturesque fact which enlivens interest and impresses itself on the memory.

Instead of the five-declension system he suggests a distinction between (1) themes in -a- and -o/e-; (2) themes in a consonant, -i-, or -u-. 'Contamination' of Italic dialects with Latin is called in to explain the 1st decl. genitives in -aes and 2nd decl. nom. pl. in -eis (in regard to which latter he seems still to hold his theory, combated e.g. by Sommer, that such forms are duals). The paradigms of *rex* and *puppis*, placed side by side, give a graphic representation of the development of the third declension. We note *ec-quis*: *ec-ce* and Osc. Umb. *eko-; *ruta—ut seems very doubtful. In the verb, -mini: *per-a* is rejected. The evidence of Sanskrit might be brought forward a little more frequently, e.g. to support the reference of *cedo* to the root *-sed-. No attempt is made to explain *danunt*, etc. *Legebam* is referred to *iege-, a verbal substantive, and -bam. *Possum* ← *potis sum* is rejected, and so also is *amaturum* ← *amatum erom. *Dixe* etc. are ascribed to haplography.

The statement on p. 97 that the nom. of *bos* ought phonetically to be *bus seems a little misleading. Some minor misprints (e.g., *aktū* for *naktū* on p. 92) disfigure to a certain extent this useful volume.

W. BEARE.

GUIL. SUESS: *Petronii imitatio sermonis plebeii qua necessitate coniungatur cum grammatica illius aetatis doctrina*. Pp. 103. Dorpat, 1927.

THE object of Süß's book is ostensibly to show how far P.'s treatment of the *sermo plebeius* rests on the formal tradition of the schools about barbarism and solecism, and how far, to use Süß's phrase, P. 'suo Marte pugnet,' but the whole book is so discursive that little which is definite emerges. The first three chapters trace the doctrine from the sophists to Remmius Palaemon (with interesting discussions of Lucilius' grammatical fragments, but little about the *sermo plebeius*), with the object of reconstructing the current doctrine of the first century A.D. approximately as it would be taught by Palaemon, who is probably the source of the later grammarians. Chapter IV. deals with Quintilian and the extension of the doctrine to the sphere of manners, as we see in contemporary authors, and shows how Petronius avoids the puerility and shallowness of the grammarians. Chapter V. seeks to show that there was a revived interest in Lucilius about the time of Nero, and incidentally gives what seems to be the right explanation of *schedium Luciliana humilitatis* (Petr. 4, 5): Süß thinks the verses which follow were suggested by Persius.

Altogether the value of the book is more in its discussions of Roman grammatical teaching than in any light it throws on the *sermo plebeius* of Petronius.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

MUSÉE BELGE. BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE.
XXXI, No. 10 (OCT., 1927).

(French books in Collection Budé, unless otherwise stated.)

GREEK.—*Aesches*: V. Martin and G. de Budé, Discours I., 1927. One of best volumes of Collection (J. Meunier). *Aesop*: E. Chambry, *Fables*, 1927. Favourable (G. Feytmans). *Arrian*: P. Chantraine, *A., L'Inde*, 1927. Textual criticisms by J. Meunier. *Bucolica*: Ph. E. Legrand, *Buc. grecs*, II., 1927. Favourable (J. Hubaux). *Eusebius*: Rud. Helm, *E. Werke*, Bd. VII. *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1913-26. Favourable (J. de Ghellinck, S.J.). *Herodotus*: Fr. Focke, *Herodot als Historiker*, Stuttgart, 1927. J. Meunier cannot accept I. 177-200 as the Assyrian logoi. *Homer*: L. A. Stella, *Echi di civiltà preistoriche nei poema d'Omero*. Bold synthesis: will please specialist and ordinary reader of H. (A. Severyns). C. Robert, *Die griech. Helden-sage*, III., 2, *Der Troische Kreis*. Unique mastery (Id.). *Tragedy*: L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la T. grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Champion, 1926, 180 fr. A model of philologie archéologique (J. Meunier).

LATIN.—*Augustine*: P. de Labriolle, *St. A. Confessions I. ix-xiii*, 1926. Favourable (G. Hinnidaels). J. P. Christopher, *A. de catechisandis rudibus*, Brookland, Catholic Univ. of America, 1926. This commentary, the first, will be of great service (L. Rochus). Sister M. R. Arts, *Syntax of the Confessions of St. A.* (same publ.) 1927. First study of the kind (Id.) *Catullus*: O. Weinreich, *Die Distichen des C.*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1926. Favourable (J. Hubaux). *Cicero*: H. Bornecque and G. Rabaud, *Discours V. (Verr. IV. Les œuvres d'art)*, 1927. Favourable (R. Scalais). L. Laurand, *Etudes sur le style des Discours*, t. III., 1927. Favourable (P. d'Hérouville). *Lucan*: A. Bourgery, *L. tome I. (I.-V.)*, 1926. Introd. sketchy and transl. obscure: counts only for text (P. Faider). *Palladius*: J. Svensnung, *P. opus agriculturae I. XIV. de veterinaria medicina*, Gothenburg, 1926. Favourable (P. d'Hérouville). *Petrionius*: A. H. Saloni, *Petro-niana I. (in Comm. in honorem J. A. Heikel)*. Original contribution to text (L. Herrmann). *Seneca*: R. Waltz, *Dial. tome IV.*, 1927. Some useful corrections of text: chronology very conjectural (P. Faider). *Tertullian*: W. J. Teeuwen, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungs-wandel bei T.*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1926, 8 m. Important study (G. Hinnidaels). *Virgil*: H. Goelzer, *Les Géorgiques*, 1926. Much better than his *Bucoliques*: translation the best yet done in French (J. Hubaux).

GENERAL.—L. Homo, *Les institutions rom. de la Cité à l'État*, Renaissance du Livre, 30 fr. Very interesting (Ed.). C. Barbagallo, *Le*

antique. Trad. de G. Bourgin, Payot, 1927. Ascribes too much to slavery (R. Scalais). E. Baumann, *St. Paul*, Paris, Grassat, 1926, 9 fr. Interesting for historical setting (H. Glaeser). A. Souter, *The earliest Latin commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul*, Oxford. Favourable (J. de Ghellinck, S.J.). K. P. Harrington, *Mediaeval Latin, selected and edited*, Boston, 1926. Attractive introduction (M. Hélin). E. Preuschens, *Griech-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T. u. der übrigen urchristl. Lit.* Neu bearb. v. W. Bauer, Lief. 1-8, Giessen, 1925-7. Makes good impression (J. P. W.).

MUSÉE BELGE XXXI., Nos. 3-4

(JULY-OCTOBER, 1927).

R. Bragard, *Le prétendu Traité de Musique du Codex Parisinus Latinus 7221*. J. Meunier, *Pour une lecture candide de l'Iphigénie à Aulis, IV.-V.* Read à parta rātra 450, ne se peuvent montrer: subject of ἔξει 564 is σοφία: the hymn is eulogy of Greek thought and of a new education. G. Cantacuzène, *Le recrute-ment de quelques cohortes syriennes*. Those in Britain and Pannonia still Syrian in 2nd and 3rd centuries: strategic reasons for such exceptions to Hadrian's principle of regional levy. L. Derochette, *Lucretiana*. Logical connection in III. 258-93 (keep etiam 288) and 688-97. R. Scalais, *Le déficit de la pro-duction agricole pendant la seconde guerre punique*. P. Faider, *Auli Gelli Noctium Atticarum praefatio: texte revu, publié avec une trad^e et un comm. exégétique*. Hommage à Felice Ramorino.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.
(MARCH-APRIL, 1927.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—*Historische griechische Epigramme*, ausgewählt von F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen. Kleine Texte herausg. von H. Lietzmann Nr. 156 [Bonn, 1926, Marcus u. Weber. Pp. 64] (Preuner). Selected with complete mastery of the scattered material. Warmly welcomed. Reviewer discusses at some length the more noteworthy restorations and explanations.

LATIN LITERATURE.—*Virgile, Les Géorgiques*. Texte établi et traduit par H. Goelzer [Paris, 1926] (M. Schmidt). Unfavourable review. The book falls far short of its object.—*Flavii Sosipatri Charisi Artis grammaticae libri V.* Ed. C. Barwick [Leipzig, 1925, Teubner. Pp. xxvi + 539] (Wessner). Very great advance; for the first time Charisius is presented to us in full compass, with direct and indirect tradition, etc. Detailed review.—*L. Annaci Senecae Divi Claudi Apotheosis*. Ed. O. Rossbach. Kleine Texte herausg. von H. Lietzmann Nr. 154 [Bonn, 1926, Marcus u.

déclin d'une civilisation ou la fin de la Grèce Weber. Pp. 18] (Busche). Useful supplement to Weinreich's book; very suitable for class work.—H. von Kameke, *Ennius und Homer. Versuch einer Analyse der Annalenfragmente* [Leipzig Diss., 1926. Pp. 74] (Klotz). Discusses use of similes, adjectives, etc. Above the average dissertation, and a valuable contribution to our understanding of Ennius.—O. Plasberg, *Cicero in seinen Werken und Briefen. Das Erbe der Alten.* Zweite Reihe, Heft 11 [Leipzig, 1926. Pp. vi + 80] (Philipsson). This posthumous book is greeted in very warm terms; distinguished both in style and in matter.—T. Birt, *Horas' Lieder. I. Horas' Lieder und römisches Leben. II. Studien sur Kritik und Auslegung* [Leipzig, 1926, Quelle u. Meyer. Pp. vi + 173; pp. 163] (Port). The first volume is popular and descriptive. In the second volume B. gives reasons, and adds a wealth of critical observations on Horace's poems in general and in detail. Suggestive, even if often not convincing.

HISTORY.—M. Muttelsee, *Zur Verjüngungsgeschichte Kretas im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* [Hamburg Diss., 1925. Pp. 72] (Berve). Exact, careful, and clear; achieves positive and fruitful results.—F. Geyer, *Alexander der Große und die Diadochen* [Leipzig, 1925, Quelle u. Meyer. Pp. 156] (Wagner). Complete mastery of material; clear account, with survey of sources and bibliography in appendix.—V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander und Ägypten. Beihefte zum 'Alten Orient.'* Heft 7 [1926. Pp. 59] (Heichelheim). Full of substance and very readable.—H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* [Dresden and Zürich, 1926, Aretz. With 500 plates and figures] (Lamer). Shallow and unscientific, but may be useful as a rich collection of

material.—W. Cartellieri, *Die römischen Alpenstrassen über den Brenner, Reschen-Scheidick und Plöckenpass, mit ihren Nebenlinien*. Philologus, Supplementband XVIII., Heft 1 [1926. Pp. 186 and 8 maps] (Hiller). Forms a valuable supplement to Hagen's excellent *Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz* (1923).

ARCHAEOLOGY.—F. Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenie. Abhandl. der phil.-hist. Klasse der Sächsischen Ak. d. Wiss.*, Bd. XXVIII., Nr. 5 [Leipzig, 1923, Hirzel. Pp. 160, with 4 plates and 102 figures] (Lippold). Characteristically thorough and elaborate study of two tarsi at Ny Carlsberg. Reviewer disagrees with S.'s main thesis that the group is an original of the fourth century, and would date it two centuries later.—A. Neppi Modona, *Cortona etrusca e romana nella storia e nell'arte*. Pubblicazioni d. R. Univ. d. Studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Lett. e Fil., N.S., Vol. VII. [Firenze, 1925, Bemporad e figlio. Pp. xix + 185, with 27 plates and 16 illustrations] (Karo). On the whole fulfils its object well. First section (40 pages) deals with history; second, and far more important section (120 pages), with archæology. Excellent photographs and drawings.—L. A. Holland, *The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. V. [Rome, 1925, American Academy. Pp. xii + 162, with 13 plates] (Karo). Acute and careful study, but does not sufficiently take into account material in European museums outside Italy.

LANGUAGE.—E. Kieckers, *Historische Griechische Grammatik. II. Formenlehre*. Sammlung Göschen, Nr. 118 [Berlin, 1926, de Gruyter. Pp. 190] (Meltzer). Careful and skilful survey of wide field. K. is up to date and master of his material.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on classical studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or extracts from periodicals and collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Back (F.) *Körper und Rhythmus. Griechische Bildwerke.* Mit einer Einführung. Pp. 8; 52 plates. Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Kartonierte, R.M. 4.

Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé. No. 17. Octobre 1927.

Burns (A. R.) *Money and Monetary Policy in Early Times.* Pp. xiii + 517; 16 plates, 1 map, 4 figures. (The History of Civilization.) London : Kegan Paul, 1927. Cloth, 25s. net.

Cadbury (H. J.) *The Making of Luke-Acts.* Pp. x + 385. London : Macmillan, 1927. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Crees (J. H. E.) and *Wordsworth* (J. C.) *Apollonius Rhodius. The Story of Medea.* Pp. xvi + 83. (Pitt Press Series.) Cambridge : University Press, 1927. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

de Ridder (A.) and *Deonna* (W.) *Art in Greece.* Pp. xxxii + 375; 66 figures, 24 plates. (The History of Civilization.) London : Kegan Paul, 1927. Cloth, 21s. net.

Diesendruck (Z.) *Struktur und Charakter des Platonischen Phaidros.* Pp. viii + 56. Vienna and Leipzig : Braumüller, 1927. Paper, 4.50 S. (2.70 Rm).

Doherty (F. C.) *Three Private Speeches of Demosthenes, edited with notes.* Πρὸς Φορμίων, Πρὸς Βουρόνα, Καὶ Κόνωνος. Pp. 111. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Guillemin (A.-M.) *Pline le jeune. Lettres.* Tome 1^{er}, Livres I-III. Texte établi et traduit. (Collection Budé.) Paris : 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1927. Paper.

- Haight* (E. H.) *Apuleius and his Influence.* Pp. 190; VII illustrations. (*Our Debt to Greece and Rome.*) London : Harrap, 1927. 5s. net.
- Halliday* (W. R.) *Greek and Roman Folklore.* Pp. 154. (*Our Debt to Greece and Rome.*) London : Harrap, 1927. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Heiberg* (I. L.) *Hippocratis Indices Librorum, Iusitrandum, etc.* Pp. xii + 146. (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum I, 1.*) Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 10 R.M. (bound, 12 R.M.).
- Heintzeler* (G.) *Das Bild des Tyrannen bei Platon.* Pp. 124. (*Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 3. Heft.*) Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 1927. Paper, 8 R.M.
- Hermathena*. No. XLIV. First supplemental volume. Index to the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, by G. W. Mooney. Dublin : Hodges, Figgis, & Co. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co.), 1927. Paper, 12s.
- Kerényi* (K.) *Die Griechisch-Orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung.* Pp. xvi + 275. Tübingen : Mohr, 1927. Paper, 16.50 M.
- Klotz* (A.) C. Julius Caesar. *Commentarii. III. Commentarii Belli Alexandrini, Belli Africi, Belli Hispaniensis; Fragmenta.* Pp. xvi + 248. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 7.20 M. (bound, 9 M.).
- Lobel* (E.) ΑΑΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΑΗ. The fragments of the lyrical poems of Alcaeus. Pp. xcvi + 75. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 21s. net.
- MacGregor* (M.) *Aristophanes, The Birds and The Frogs, translated into rhymed English verse with an introductory essay and an appendix.* Pp. viii + 134. London : Arnold, 1927. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Mavrogordato* (J.) *And Other Poems.* Pp. 139. London : Cobden-Sanderson, 1927. Paper, 5s. net.
- Movretov*. Anno IV. Fascicolo II. 1927.
- Oder* (E.) and *Hoppe* (C.) *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum. II.* Pp. xxix + 358. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig : Teubner, 1927. Paper, 14 R.M. (bound, 16 R.M.).
- Owen* (S. G.) John Percival Postgate 1853-1926. Pp. 11. (The British Academy.) London : Milford. Paper, 1s. net.
- Paoli* (U. E.) *Platone. La Repubblica.* Passi scelti e annotati con introduzione e sommaria esposizione del dialogo. Pp. ix + 125. Florence : Felice Le Monnier. Paper, 12 l.
- Paoli* (U. E.) *Prose e Poesie Latine di Scrittori Italiani.* Seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata. Pp. xxviii + 278. Florence : Felice Le Monnier. Paper, 14 l.
- Raby* (F. J. E.) *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages.* Pp. xii + 491. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Ringwood* (I. C.) *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence. Part I: Non-Attic Mainland and Adjacent Islands, except Euboea.* Pp. 109. Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1927. Paper.
- Robinson* (G. W.) *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger, with autobiographical selections from his letters . . . Translated into English for the first time, with introduction and notes.* Pp. 128. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press (London : Milford), 1927. Cloth, 11s. 6d. net.
- Rodd* (Sir R.) *Homer's Ithaca. A vindication of tradition.* Pp. 160; illustrations and maps. London : Edward Arnold, 1927. 6s. net.
- Röding* (A.) *Studier till Petrus de Crescentius och hans antika källor.* Pp. vii + 121. (Doktorsavhandlingar i Latinsk Filologi vid Göteborgs Högskola. Serie fr. o. m. 1926. II.) Göteborg : Eranos' Förlag, 1927. Paper.
- Schwenn* (F.) *Gebet und Opfer. Studien zum griechischen Kultus.* Pp. 144. (Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 8.) Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1927. Paper, M. 7.50.
- Skimina* (S.) *De Ioannis Chrysostomi rhythmo oratorio.* Pp. 98; 36 tables. (Archiwum Filologiczne Polskiej Akademii Umiej. Nr. 6.) Cracow and Warsaw : Gebethner & Wolff, 1927. Paper.
- Sonnenschein* (E. A.) *The Soul of Grammar.* Pp. xi + 120. Cambridge : University Press, 1927. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Svoboda* (K.) *La Démonologie de Michel Psellos.* Pp. 60. (Opera Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Masarykiana Brunensis.) Brno, 1927. (On sale at 'Les Belles Lettres,' Paris.) Paper, Kč 8.
- Tarn* (W. W.) *Hellenistic Civilisation.* Pp. viii + 312. London : Edward Arnold, 1927. Cloth, 16s. net.
- The Claim of Antiquity.* With an annotated list of books for those who know neither Latin nor Greek. Pp. 34. London : Milford, 1927. Paper, 1s.
- Thörnell* (G.) *Ad Scriptores Historiae Augustae et Ammianum Marcellinum Adnotationes.* Pp. 18. *Sjögren* (H.) *Ad Ciceronis Epistulas ad Atticum Adnotationes.* Pp. 21. (Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala. 24 : 6, 7.) Uppsala : Almqvist & Wiksell (Leipzig : Harrassowitz, 1927. Paper, 50 and 75 öre.
- von Prittwald* (K. S.) *Sprache und Persönlichkeit. Der Sinn komparativischer Personalbezeichnungen.* Pp. 23. Jena : Frommannsche Buchhandlung, 1927. Paper, M. 0.90.
- Wight Duff* (J.) *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age. From Tiberius to Hadrian.* Pp. xiv + 674. (The Library of Literary History.) London : Fisher Unwin, 1927. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Wiman* (G.) *Textkritiska studier till Apuleius.* Pp. vi + 89. (Doktorsavhandlingar i Latinsk Filologi vid Göteborgs Högskola. Serie fr. o. m. 1926. III.) Göteborg : Eranos' Förlag, 1927. Paper.

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